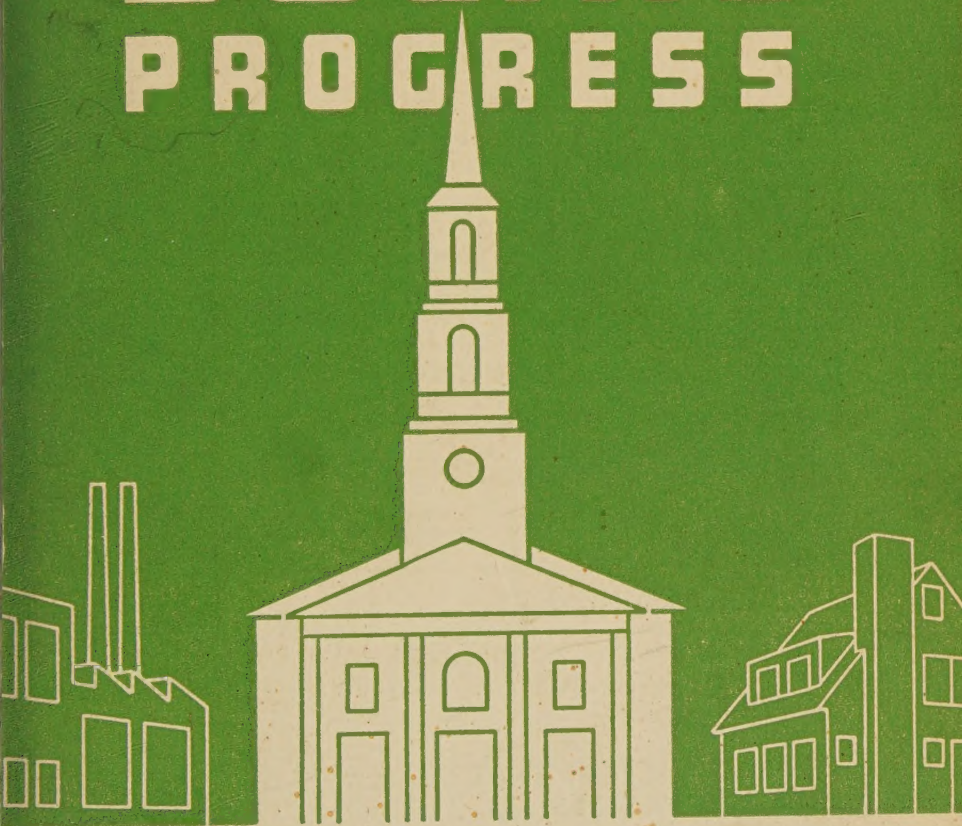


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Personal Religion and Social Responsibility

*By Hubert C. Noble **

FOR many people religion is such an intensely personal matter that they have difficulty in seeing the necessity for the social program of the Church. There is no question about the need of a program of evangelism, but why a Division of Social Education and Action? "When we have evangelized the world, and Christ dwells in the hearts of all men, social problems will take care of themselves." This is partially true, but its truth depends on what Christ in men's hearts impels them to do. Social problems will never take care of themselves, but Christ dwelling in men's hearts should lead them into social action.

This is true because the first indication that Christ has entered our hearts is that we put the well-being of others ahead of concern for ourselves. The words "social problem" mean that people are suffering or are the victims of injustice, and the cross is the symbol of our faith because the essence of Jesus' Spirit was a love that led him to sacrifice himself to save those who suffer or to give aid to those who are the victims of injustice.

Some years ago the world was greatly shocked when the crew of a sinking steamship seized the life-

boats and left the passengers to perish. Such conduct violated the tradition of the sea: "Women and children first, passengers first, yourself last." That tradition is an expression of the essence of the Christian spirit. In any critical situation, concern for others must supersede concern for ourselves.

Today we live in a suffering, sinking world. If Christ dwells in our hearts, our first concern will be for those who suffer most in the world, and that leads us to social concern and action. Any religious faith that is personal only in the sense that it is chiefly concerned with *my* troubles, *my* adjustment to life, *my* needs, and *my* salvation, is not Christian. In a sinking world no Christian seeks to save himself first.

But people do try to save themselves first and any demand that they do not do so seems to run counter to common sense and natural impulse. For this reason the demand cannot be separated from the Christian realism expressed by Jesus when he suggests that the best way to take care of our own needs is to seek the larger good of all. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God . . . and these things shall be added unto you." That this is true realism is indicated by two almost obvious facts.

First, we function best as individ-

* Chaplain, Occidental College, Los Angeles, California.

uals when we lose ourselves in causes and purposes of broad social concern. Many of the personal difficulties faced by individuals are caused by the fact that most people think too much about themselves. The Christian faith says that human beings were created to live, to function, to achieve high purposes of God in service to man. Many never achieve this because self-concern interferes with function.

Such people remind one of the high-school boy who spends more time taking his car apart and putting it together again than in running it. Some people spend so much time taking themselves apart and putting themselves together again that a good part of the time they are out of commission. Self-concern is self-defeating, and self-forgetfulness the highest form of self-expression.

Secondly, many of our personal problems can be solved only as broader world problems are solved. Many individual difficulties are caused by circumstances that are beyond individual control. They are the product of social situations which, though caused by individual action, can be met only by the individual's acting in concert with the group.

The recent war created tremendous personal problems for millions of people. Few, if any, people in the world wanted the war, yet willy-nilly they were caught up in it and were helpless to do anything about it.

They were helpless because the time had passed when as individuals they could do anything. That time was some years ago when people were saying: "Let's get back to normalcy. I haven't time to worry about the League of Nations, international trade, and world peace. I have too many personal worries." And we are again losing the peace we fought for because so many feel that way again.

Many people are so much concerned with their jobs, their farms, their children, their personal success, that they have no time to give to "social problems." The result is that the forces and movements that will inevitably cause the next war are now gathering momentum and the bitter personal problems of the future are now in the process of creation.

There is something ironical about the way in which parents bend all their energies to fitting the children for the world and then see the lives of those children shattered because the world is not fit for children. To give a child a fine physique, a good character, and a first-class education is only half the responsibility of parents. The other half is creating a world in which young people have a chance to live. We are slowly beginning to realize that responsible parenthood means not only preparing children for the world, but preparing the world for children. This means giving as much time to broader social problems as we give

to a child's personal development. It means responsible citizenship that safeguards the future of one's own child because one seeks better opportunities for all children.

When a flood rolls down a valley the individual rancher is helpless. He can seek to save himself and his family only by scrambling for high ground. But before the flood comes he is not helpless. He can work with his neighbors for the building of dams, levees, and brush fills, in a program of flood control. He'd better do this even if it means neglecting his own ranch. Better a neglected ranch than one swept away.

So it is with social problems. When they reach a state of crisis the average individual is all but helpless. But before the crisis comes he is not helpless. He can work with others in solving the problems that are causing the crisis and he had better do so in politics, economics, and international relations even if it means the neglect of some personal concerns. Jesus was teaching us stark realism when he told us to seek the Kingdom first, work for a world in which God's will is done, and put our personal concerns second. Only then can our personal problems be solved.

However, it would be a distortion of the Christian faith to urge the seeking of the Kingdom because that best solves personal problems. Such action would be doing the right thing from the wrong motive, and thus would be self-defeating. We seek the Kingdom because we believe it to be God's will, and dedication to the will of God is the Christian's ultimate dedication. It is ultimate because God's Kingdom is more than a better world now, it is a future reality known only to God. The better world now provides immediate goals for us because it is the part of God's Kingdom that we can see.

Toward these goals the Church program of social education and action seeks to direct us. It directs us in assuming political responsibility, in seeking the Christian answer to economic problems, and in achieving the world organization that expresses the community oneness of the human family.

There is no question of personal versus social religion. There is only the question of how the Christian individual acts in the social environment of which he is a part. Here we need the deepest faith, the highest insights, and the finest guidance the Church can give.

It seems to me a great truth, that human beings cannot stand on selfishness, mechanical utilities, economics and law courts; that if there be not a religious element in the relations of men...such relations are miserable and [they are] doomed to ruin.—Thomas Carlyle.

Today's Headline Is Not Tomorrow's Road Map

*By Alfred Hoffmann **

HISTORY is being made so rapidly that you and I, who are making and living it, get little more than a blurred impression of all that is taking place. This has been true, no doubt, for those living in any period of our recorded history. Domestic problems and world problems reach our breakfast table in newspaper every morning. To have strong opinions on all of them, based upon fact, is quite impossible. We turn, therefore, in sheer self-defense, to the pre-digested and capsuled opinions of those supposed to be experts and specialists. Unfortunately the experts and specialists themselves are too busy at times to base their opinions upon fact, and we end up by being perplexed and confused. We oftentimes delude ourselves into believing we have an opinion when, in reality, we are relying entirely upon prejudice, or upon concepts completely outmoded by changing times.

It is perhaps most unfortunate that some of our contemporary professional minds are suffering from an acute case of "nearsightedness," in which the forest is lost for the trees. That has been my experience in reading some of the recent professional opinion in respect to the field

of labor relations and, more particularly, analyses of the current labor picture. The majority of the articles I have read failed to give any analysis of the current labor situation in the light of long-term trends, or in the light of long-term historical development.

It is important that those in the Church, whether laymen or clergy, be given an opportunity to look at the broader underlying trends that are characterizing the evolution of management-labor relationships in this country, apart from strikes and so-called crises which receive the publicity, and upon which restrictive legislation aimed to destroy the trade-union movement, or so hamper it as to make it ineffective as a social force, are based. One can have only a confused picture of the issues pertinent in any major labor dispute, because the issues are seldom presented in a clear-cut manner, and facts are often inadequate.

This is usually the case while public interest is at its highest point, while a dispute is in full flower. Few people stop to read the generally excellent analysis which usually appears after the conflict is over. For instance, the American public was led to believe that the big issue in the recent soft-coal dispute was John L. Lewis, and not the health and living

* First Vice-President, American Federation of Hosiery Workers, CIO, and member of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

conditions of the soft-coal miners. The issue generally revolved around John L., and the general opinion expressed was that "nothing that could be done for the miners would be too much, but John L. ought to be stopped."

The current period of labor unrest, which dates back to V-J Day and will have completed its original cycle by Labor Day, 1946, was as inevitable as eating and sleeping. There was, first, the psychological release from four years of war and the end of hostilities. There was the removal of the wage freeze administered by the War Labor Board, the removal of the board, and the re-entry of cost-of-living data into the field of collective bargaining. There was our Government without a comprehensive plan for reconversion to civilian production, or any reconversion wage policy except decontrol by the War Production Board, and a weak priority system under the Civilian Production Administration. And there was Congress, which had done an excellent job on international problems, but had failed miserably in domestic matters.

Workers suffered from a feeling of insecurity. They faced cancellation of war contracts in their plants; they faced wide-spread layoffs, although many were of short-time duration; they faced downgrading in plants where they were employed; because they had been upgraded too rapidly under the stimulus of war produc-

tion and labor turnover, lower wages were in store for most of them. They faced a reduction in work hours and thereby reduction in take-home pay. The unions in some industries faced an employer offensive unless they took the initiative to preserve their status. Much of the conflict and most of the barriers to reconversion could have been overcome by a comprehensive plan for that purpose on an orderly basis. Very little actual civilian production was lost in the period from V-J Day to January 1, 1946, since a great many managements were not ready to deliver goods into consumer channels under the 1945 tax schedules and their accumulated profits to date. In a great many consumer goods industries, production continued uninterrupted during the entire period, and new collective bargaining agreements of long duration were drafted without strikes. Some 4,000 wage increases were negotiated without strikes or lockouts.

Approximately 14,000,000 workers are employed under collective bargaining agreements covering their wages, hours, and working conditions. About two thirds of all workers in the manufacturing industries and one third of all workers in nonmanufacturing industries are so covered. Despite this fact, and despite the fact that unions have grown tremendously since 1933, collective bargaining is relatively new in a major portion of American industry. In some large plants col-

lective bargaining was introduced during the war years.

It must further be borne in mind that while some unions are relatively old in both their collective bargaining history and their existence, a great many of them are in their infant stage. Some completely new trends in collective bargaining, which are of the greatest significance to the country, are very young. Arbitration, as the final step in the settlement of grievances, under collective bargaining agreements, is one such new development. Pioneered in the men's clothing and the women's garment industries, it was first adopted in the hosiery industry on a national basis in 1929. It has more recently been adopted in the automobile, rubber, steel, shipbuilding, and other major industries. The trend toward using this safety valve in labor relations is its almost universal adoption in the vast majority of all labor agreements.

A change is occurring in the duration of collective bargaining agreements. An ever larger percentage of contracts are being written with a life span of from two to six years, rather than the usual one-year period. Such contracts provide the machinery for wage revision upward or downward during the life of the agreement, separate and apart from the ordinary arbitration machinery under which grievances are processed. This machinery provides either for fact-finding boards or for

a wage tribunal. On the other hand, employers who believe that trade-unions and organized labor are purely transitory and temporary insist upon one-year agreements, since they want to preserve their opportunity to get a "divorce" at the first chance. Some unions may also prefer a one-year agreement. In the majority of instances these are written without any wage reopening provision, since the preference is to bargain for wage increases rather than to arbitrate such matters.

Union-management co-operation clauses are finding their way into agreements so frequently that they have become an almost standard feature. These clauses, pioneered in the earlier contracts of the men's and women's clothing industry, and the hosiery industry, are now found in a wide variety of industries including contracts of the A. F. of L. Street Railway Employees and Electrical Workers, and C I O Automobile, Woodworkers, Textile Workers, Yukon Gold Miners, and Pacific Coast Longshoremen.

Collective bargaining on an industry-wide or market-wide basis is growing in practice. While a feature in several industries for a long time, its adoption in industries unionized since 1936 is definitely established as a trend that will have a tendency to stabilize collective bargaining to a large degree.

A ban on work stoppages, slowdowns, strikes, demonstrations, or

other interruptions in work appears in virtually all contracts. Most such clauses also prohibit lockouts and unwarranted shutdowns on the part of the employer. Some clauses contain automatic penalty features such as the free right of the employer to discharge workers participating in an illegal strike, or the automatic cancellation of the agreement itself. Others provide for the loss of job and seniority rights, or accord to the employer or to the employer and union jointly the automatic right to discipline. Some carry monetary penalties. The balance accord relief and remuneration through arbitration or in the courts.

A more recent trend, significant only during the past six years, is the incorporation of accident and sickness protection, or health and hospitalization plans, with a separate trend toward the development of retirement plans and pensions. Paid vacations have become an almost universal feature under union contracts.

These are some of the straws that point in a definite direction, over and beyond the day-to-day aberrations which receive publicity and with which the public is too prone to concern itself. Collective bargaining is an evolutionary process and its development is gradual and slow. Arbitration itself, which insures peace during the life of an agreement, is very young, and only in the minority of unions is there now a

body of decisions that constitutes industrial jurisprudence and establishes the common customs for the industry, defining management's rights, labor's rights, and the Marquis of Queensberry rules for both.

Capitalism, production, and distribution are dynamic, therefore human relations in industry will also be dynamic, continuously changing and evolving. Progress toward better relationships must be achieved through collective bargaining where both parties, management and labor, must learn to face and accept the facts before them. Progress toward better understanding must of necessity be slow and often-times painful, because all progress in human relations is so. All the long-term trends in labor relations are progressive and point to healthier relationship. Always remember that the development of collective bargaining in the United States is in all stages of progress at this moment; some lag in the primitive stage, others have reached maturity, wisdom, and responsibility. The recent cycle of labor unrest has no particular significance in long-term trends, and reflects only a change in our economic cycle. The checks and balances of our economic system of competition and consumer demand, new investment capital, new technology, and new products, all tend to steady the boat for the employer, the worker, and the consumer.

Significance of Labor Day for the Christian Church

By Paul Silas Heath*

AS LABOR DAY, 1946, comes around we find ourselves in a most welcome breathing spell amidst the tensions and conflict of the immediate postwar period. We should not presume that this is more than a breathing spell, for most of the basic causes of industrial unrest remain, and if the present inflation becomes worse, we may expect tensions to break out again into conflict. We might well use the present moment to outline for ourselves some of the responsibilities that rest upon the Christian Church in the light of its expressed social ideals and, because it is Labor Day, to suggest responsibilities that may legitimately be laid at the doorstep of labor.

First then, what are some of the things which the Church should be taking upon itself this fall?

1. The Church should seek an intelligent understanding of the contribution that organized labor has made, not only to the welfare of its own members, but to the industrial life of the country. Too often the point of view of the average Church member is that organized labor has been the source of strife and vio-

lence, making little social contribution in return. Such a reading of the history of industrial relations in our country is hopelessly biased. It gives a totally inadequate foundation for any understanding of the present situation and the future place of organized labor in our national life.

2. The Church should be far more familiar than it is with its own pronouncements of social ideals and principles as enunciated by official bodies both denominational and interdenominational. The pastor has a rich amount of material in the pronouncements of the Federal Council of Churches, the reports of the Standing Committees on Social Education and Action of our own General Assembly, and such unusual documents as the *Report of the Division of Social Education and Action on the Church and Industrial Relations*¹ adopted by the 1944 General Assembly. Other resource materials of great value for fall study are the paper on *Christianity and the Economic Order* recently sent out by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council and the statement on

* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and member of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

¹ Copies of this report (10 cents per copy) may be obtained from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

the *Church and Economic Tensions* put out by the Federal Council in March of this year.

A series of Church-night discussions on the material presented in these reports, using the best people available, would do a great deal to equip a Church with the intelligent background necessary for understanding the critical questions of the day and for influencing our economic life in conformity with careful Christian thought and principle.

3. The Church should prepare itself with an adequate technique of Christian thought and action with which to approach a critical situation of industrial conflict once it has broken out. Most Church people react in a very superficial way to a situation of conflict. We are first of all aware that our own comfort and security are threatened by a stoppage of service and that production necessary for prosperity is curtailed. Since labor has taken the overt action of a strike, we jump to the conclusion that labor is at fault. It may very well be that by actions of omission and refusal to redress just grievances management has brought about a situation in which labor has no weapon but the strike. The point is that in any industrial conflict the Church owes it to itself as well as to labor to be objective, to seek possession of all the facts available, to accept the fact that our own inconvenience may quite reasonably be the price we are called upon to pay

for a larger measure of social justice. Public opinion is going to be an increasingly important factor in industrial disputes because more and more the public welfare has become involved immediately with the industrial process. This means that the public has an increased responsibility to arrive at just and intelligent conclusions and the Christian group more than any other must seek to form its opinions in the light of its Christian ideals of justice and of fellowship.

4. The Church should practice an especial hospitality toward union members and officials and their families. An especial hospitality is necessary because so often in the past labor people have been so snubbed and ostracized in the Church that they have developed a very great sensitivity to their treatment and often are understandably on the defensive. Only the warmth of Christian appreciation can overcome this. Places should be found for union people on the boards of the Church, not just because they are union people, but because it is necessary for the Church to indicate that it opens its doors to the fullest participation of members of organized labor. The Church needs its participation, and labor leadership must not be without the spiritual inspiration and guidance of the Church.

5. The Church must bring its own practices of economic relationship

(Continued on page 35)

Industrial Relations

An Excerpt

Section on industrial relations from the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action to the 158th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

THE relationship between management and labor is all-important within industry and the economic order. A dangerous lag is obvious between our engineering and material advance on the one hand and our skills in industrial relations on the other. For this the Church must, with penitence, accept its share of responsibility. Upon employers and employees who are members of our Churches rests the call to undertake their work as a matter of Christian vocation. Central to all Christian vocation is a concern for the total community and not for special classes or groups to the exclusion of others.

In our growing economic interdependence the total community has an increasing stake in the decisions and practices of management and of organized labor. In ways of mounting significance neither of these groups lives unto itself. Wages and working conditions, prices and profits, deeply affect the public interest. Management and organized labor have an obligation for self-discipline on behalf of the public interest.

In a free society, settlement of industrial disputes should be sought

through the free and voluntary efforts of labor and management. There can be no industrial peace without mutual good faith, the readiness to give and take, and fidelity to contracts.

We reaffirm the traditional position of the General Assembly in support of collective bargaining and of the obligation upon management and labor to use to the full methods of peaceful settlement, such as mediation, conciliation, and arbitration. In these, the co-operation of Government, Federal and state, can be of decisive help. We believe that these Governmental services should be extended and improved.

Likewise in a free society the right to strike is basic, but like every other right it must be subject to the requirements of public order and well-being. We reaffirm the right of workers to strike after all peaceful means of settlement have been sincerely sought. We believe that Christian people have an obligation to see that the right to strike is not so limited by legislation that it becomes meaningless and that thereby freedom itself is in jeopardy.

When an industrial dispute results in a work stoppage through a strike

or lockout that endangers the national well-being, Government has the responsibility to demand that work be resumed. However, this must never be done without providing safeguards for the basic freedom of both labor and management and for the adjustment of the issues involved in terms of justice and fair play. If this demand is resisted, Government may invoke civil penalties, but under no circumstances should peacetime military draft be used to force the end of the work stoppage. Such use of military power is nothing short of totalitarianism.

A free society should place no arbitrary or artificial limitation upon its capacity to produce. The full influence of labor and management should be against cartels, tariff barriers, and shortsighted policies that restrict the output of men and machines.

At the same time there exists an equal responsibility on the public toward the legitimate claims of both management and labor, a responsibility which Christians should be particularly diligent in assuming.

1. The Christian should bring perspective and poise to the shifting and often emotionally charged industrial situation. The appearances of the moment need to be seen in the light of the past and of the future and even more in the light of principles that are eternal, in violation of which the good of yesterday may

be undone and future progress retarded for generations.

2. The Christian should exercise care that serious personal inconvenience to himself caused by an industrial dispute does not dull his concern, that justice is done toward both management and labor. He should not be content with settlements that fail to gain justice for the individuals concerned and for their families.

3. The Christian should take an inclusive view that is aware not only of wrongs to be righted but also of the progress that has entered into the fabric of industrial relations. The spirit of co-operation and understanding already existing between labor and management is manifest in some 50,000 existing contracts that provide for the orderly settlement of disputes from the factory to the industry-wide level.

4. The Christian often becomes aware of the crisis involved in a work stoppage without at the same time being capable of judging fairly the merits of the dispute because of ignorance of important factors. When a strike occurs Christians should be as sensitive to the sins of omission as to the sins of commission on the part of both labor and management. Because of its refusal to take action on working conditions or wages management may be more responsible for a strike than the labor union that takes overt strike action. Before condemning labor for

striking, Christians are morally obligated to investigate conditions and know the facts.

5. The Christian should manifest active concern in the failure of society to marshal its full resources for health for all people. In countless cases, health is denied because of the lack of funds by the individual in need of medical services and the lack of medical resources. In the name of the great Physician we favor Federal legislation that will join appropriate civic, professional, and other bodies in co-operation with Government, in providing the means for adequate medical care wherever needed.

6. The Christian should ever seek the guidance of God that he may rise above group partisanship in giving his support to proposed solutions.

Can the Christian Church create a respect for persons so that men and women divided as employers and employees may differ deeply in their opinions and yet retain respect for each other's worth and integrity? This is possible where their approach is not primarily based upon the special interests of employer and employee but rather upon concern for that which is in accord with Christian principles.

Recommendation

That General Assembly request the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to convene at an early date a Study Conference on the Church and the Economic Order to provide leadership in this important subject comparable to that in the international field.

United Nations Human Rights Commission

The Committee on Human Rights of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace has issued a call to national and local organizations to conduct a widespread program of discussion on the work of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, in the firm belief that the Human Rights Commission and the United Nations itself, in fostering and enlarging the domain of human rights, will be, to a large extent, dependent upon world opinion. The Committee has published a Guide to Study Community Activity on Human Rights, which may be ordered from Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y. 5 cents a copy.

Democracy or Dictatorship IN BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT*

By Joseph C. O'Mahoney

Senator O'Mahoney, former newspaper editor, lawyer, and First Assistant Postmaster General, has been a United States Senator (Democrat) from Wyoming since 1934. He was chairman of the Congressionally authorized Temporary National Economic Committee which in 1938 made an extensive study of the nation's business in investigating the concentration of economic power. He is a member of the Special Postwar Economic Policy and Planning Committee; chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs; and a member of other Senate committees.

THE chief trouble in the modern world has been the failure of people to perceive the fundamental fact that we cannot have free government if we do not have a free economy and that, in our time, the people did not lose the power actually to direct their own Government until after they had lost the power to direct their own economy. The drift toward big government did not begin until business had outgrown the jurisdiction of little and local government.

There never was a time in the history of this country when it was not recognized that the people's Government should have the power "to regulate commerce." It was written into the Constitution itself at the very beginning and Congress began to exercise the power the minute it was organized. Although those who were to be regulated usually resisted, the desirability of regulation was never seriously challenged.

On the other hand, Congress was always slow to extend national controls over individuals while business was carried on by individuals. When, however, with the development of modern science and technology local geographical boundaries were erased and commerce began to pass from the control of individuals to the control of organizations managed by experts rather than by the stockholders, then began the development of national commercial regulation in a big way.

Big Government Beginnings

When modern industrial organization became so great that it spanned the nation, when management, from central offices, began to direct the labor of thousands of workers and the dollars of thousands of stockholders, Congress began to set up the boards and commissions, the rules and regulations of which are the cause of so much criticism. It must not be overlooked, however, that these Government agencies were

* From *Dun's Review*, April, 1946. Used with permission.

created by every administration for a half century past without regard to whether or not the administration was called "progressive" or "reactionary." Liberalism and conservatism have nothing to do with the problem. The political structure is the outgrowth of the economic structure and one cannot be separated from the other.

How else is it possible to explain that an abandonment of the agencies of Government management has not been advocated by any political party in this country since the Government began to grow? It was Governor Dewey himself who, in the last Presidential campaign, asserted: "In agriculture, in labor, and in money, we are committed to some degree of Government intervention in the free workings of our economic system."

This sort of intervention by the Federal Government in modern business was initiated when the Interstate Commerce Commission was created. Woodrow Wilson signed the bill creating the Federal Trade Commission and President Harding signed the bill giving the Secretary of Agriculture the power to regiment packing houses and stockyards. None of these laws was repealed or weakened during the administration of Mr. Hoover. On the contrary, the powers of Government were expanded under him as they had been expanded under his predecessors. In meeting the problems of the de-

pression under President Roosevelt, then in surmounting the crisis of the war, and now in dealing with the problems of reconversion, the managerial principles of the factory system are still being applied to our Government. We are being ruled from the top. Certainly no one has as yet proposed any alternative. Management and labor, both directed by experts, sit down with the experts of government, to whom Congress has delegated its powers, and the people, instead of governing in the traditional sense, are being governed. We all wait breathlessly for the decisions of the experts.

Surely no one can seriously contend that the mere abolition of Government management would restore economic freedom to the people. That would only mean that private managers would operate without regulation in the public interest. They would not be regulated by local Government because local Government is unequal to the task. They would not be regulated by the national Government because the national Government would, under such a plan, have washed its hands of all responsibility. Chaos then would be the inevitable result, for there would be no agency to safeguard the public welfare in the clash of conflicting private groups and organizations.

The so-called "pressure group," like the modern corporation, is governed from the top. The members

take their cues from the managers rather than from their own knowledge of the facts. Every year every member of Congress receives from his district thousands of telegrams which he knows were written in Washington by the group managers and telephoned or wired to the country with instructions to be poured in on Congress. This is but another illustration of the confusion created by the failure to recognize the difference between the individual and the organization.

This failure to perceive that the economy in which most men use their own capital and manage their own businesses in their own localities is utterly and completely different from the economy in which huge industrial empires are operated throughout the country and throughout the world by hired managers is the chief pitfall for democracy. It is absurd, for example, to think of General Motors or United States Steel as an example of free private enterprise. They are collectivist enterprises consisting of hundreds of thousands of stockholders and hundreds of thousands of workers. They are collectivist economic states which exercise an influence upon the welfare of all the people and which are as far beyond the powers of cities and counties and states to regulate in the public interest as is the airplane that hops from New York to San Francisco through the stratosphere.

The corporate executive will say that he exercises his authority by virtue of the acquiescence of his stockholders. That is precisely what the executive of the totalitarian state says. He claims to act for the benefit and by the acquiescence of the people. He is a master in the use of the proxy. Whether the manager operates in the economic or in the political state he exercises authority from the top according to the factory system whose kinship with the Prussian State was so frankly acknowledged by Dr. Hayek.

Mr. Brown put the issue very succinctly in his article of last September. "We must make our choice," he writes. "We must either completely re-establish our democratic system in America or we must completely accept the totalitarian philosophy. There is no middle road." Obviously the restoration of the democratic system cannot be attained by urging the national Government to abandon all regulation of the national economy, for that would be merely to advocate the abdication of public government in favor of a multiplicity of private governments.

Business Regimentation

I am sure no one will contend that modern business organization does not set up its own forms of government or that the private managerial authority which it establishes does not undertake to regiment the business activities of the people.

Instances without number could be given. On July 5, 1945, for example, a Federal judge in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, in a suit brought by the United States Department of Justice against several of these modern economic business organizations which had established complete private control of a particular industry, declared:

"It was more difficult for the individual outside to enter this business than for the camel to make its proverbial passage through the eye of the needle."

Again, on December 28, 1945, the United States District Court of Chicago entered a decree against an organization of more than 500 separate companies which, in 228 principal cities throughout the United States, had set up their own private system for regulating and regimenting the business in which they were engaged.

Similar examples could be multiplied. Readers may be familiar with the fact that price, production, and territorial priorities have always been subjects upon which business organizations have attempted to legislate through their own private systems of commercial regulation. That these regulations affect the whole public and shape the entire economic system, no informed person can deny.

Surely it can be no secret to management that the appearance of

the national labor union was an inevitable development of this system. The CIO did not emerge until long after business management had established the managerial form of government in national industries. The national labor organization was a manifestation of self-defense upon the part of workers who, as individuals, were utterly unable to defend themselves against their nationally organized employers. Lest anybody imagine that this is the conclusion of a radical mind, let me quote from the text of Herbert Hoover's speech to the National Republican Club of New York City on Lincoln's Birthday, 1946:

"Today we see a gigantic growth of labor unions paralleling big business."

This is the testimony of an experienced observer who certainly cannot be regarded as a foe of business.

Individual Opportunity

Our task, if we are to preserve a free economy, is to adjust the powers of management and the powers of Government in such a manner as to keep opportunity free for the individual. This is not to say that modern industrial organization should be scrapped or that big business should be atomized. Not at all. It is merely to say that leaders in business and leaders in Government must open their eyes to the plain fact that we are living in an economy that re-

(Continued on page 38)

Washington Seminar

Reported by Alfred B. Wangman, minister, Bethany Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York, and a delegate to the Churchmen's Washington Seminar held May 1-3, 1946, Washington, D. C.

THE Church has the duty of educating its members. It is a mistake to speak without knowledge." That was the keynote message of Francis McPeck, chairman of the Legislative Committee of Social Action of the Congregational Church, at the beginning of the fourth Churchmen's Washington Seminar. Since the preacher is generally considered to be the spokesman for the Church, the objective of the program was apparent at the beginning. We had been invited to the nation's capital to observe, to gather information, and to prepare ourselves to instruct and guide our parishioners more effectively in the area of social legislation growing out of human needs and identified with the rights of man.

A definition of principle was stated in this way: "The Church's political responsibility is to get members to act in every capacity as Christian citizens. Because of the complexity of the issues, and the nature of the legislation required, expert advice is necessary."

We were reminded of the fact that on public questions requiring specific action the Protestant Church is likely to be negative in its emphasis. We view with alarm and denounce with vehemence. We talk

about choosing the lesser of two evils. Too often we overlook the opportunity to choose the greater of two goods!

An impressive illustration of a positive method for approaching threatening influences in the community was presented in an incident in the career of Henry Ward Beecher. One day a Methodist evangelist invaded Beecher's thriving parish in Brooklyn. The eminent divine, whose statue stands today in front of Borough Hall, and who made such an impression upon that community a generation ago, was a Church statesman. He had a Christian strategy that was effective. First he sent a note to the invader, stating that it was his prerogative to entertain a clergyman visiting his parish. After taking him into his home, he invited him into his pulpit and introduced him to his great congregation. The poor fellow was helpless. Through this ostentatious welcome for a prospective competitor, he "killed him with kindness." That suggestion has timely significance for the ministry today. In our local community fellow ministers have endeavored to enlist my support in a loyal opposition to some sect or religious movement that appeals to the "lunatic fringe." Our strategy is to offer something

better and be so convinced of the quality of our program that we may be positive in promoting it with enthusiasm.

In a college course in government a study of the political theory of the framers of the Constitution impressed me with the fact that the conservative politicians, who laid the foundation for our republican form of government, were not the liberal group, who signed the Declaration of Independence. They were devoted to the idea of "checks and balances." Efficiency experts were unknown in those days, when life was comparatively simple, and the responsibilities and functions of government were carefully restricted by law.

As a result we have a national political system inadequate for its tremendous task, a Model-T mechanism for a day of air liners!

Dr. George Galloway, staff director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, outlined the plan for reorganization and we were given copies of the report adopted unanimously, as a plan for streamlining our antiquated nineteenth-century form of legislative assemblies. His address was a helpful introduction to the sessions of the House and Senate we attended the following day.

By a fortunate arrangement the next three sessions of the Churchmen's Seminar coincided with a Conference on Unfinished Business, sponsored by the National Federa-

tion of Settlements, American Association of Social Workers, the League of Women Voters, the National Shoppers League, the United Council of Church Women, and six other national organizations with delegates from sixty-eight cities and thirty-one states from Berkeley, California, to Bangor, Maine. Senator Pepper, beginning his address to the five hundred who met in the ballroom of the National Press Club, said, "Madam Chairman, and my fellow radicals." The presiding officer he addressed was Miss Helen Hall, director of the Henry Street Settlement.

A letter of regret from the President of the United States expressed his concern that he could not be present and indicated how heartening it is to have organizations with such far-reaching and effective influence descend upon Washington to make their wishes known in the field of social legislation. Pointing out that he was aware of the large constituency in the fields of social welfare which the conference represented, he stated his feeling that anything the delegates said on these subjects would be based upon an intimate knowledge of conditions as they exist among the people whom the eleven organizations serve.

"If we are to have better homes, control of prices, a national health program, an extension of social security, the people must support these measures," said the President.

The message from the Chief Executive touched upon the major questions before the conference. We were told that for four years Americans concentrated on the war. But while we were winning a conflict abroad we lost one at home. If the four freedoms are to be more than high-sounding words, they must be implemented. It takes time, thought, and effort to express one's convictions intelligently to Congress. But citizens of a democracy are not sheep. The people must be aroused to show that they do care when human needs and the rights of man are involved.

Wilson Wyatt, the energetic mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, who developed a program to meet the housing crisis in that city, has become the expeditor for providing homes for homeless Americans. He delivered a thought-provoking address. In May, 1935, Ernest Kahn, writing in an article entitled "Ten Million Homes," made a prophecy. "If the present American standard of living is not to be drastically lowered, a million new dwelling units a year must be built in the United States for the next ten years. Otherwise this country will face a housing shortage of staggering magnitude." Today the Federal Government has had to organize an emergency program to deal with this problem. We have not yet reached the crisis. The worst is yet to come! Our goal must be to provide a decent home for every American family.

Congresswoman Chase Going Woodhouse changed my mind about the extension of the O.P.A. John Foster Dulles, speaking at the General Assembly in May, pointed out that during the last war there was no rationing and no black market. He reminded his hearers of the meatless and wheatless days, saying that conservation of vital necessities was well done on a voluntary basis. In this war we assumed that only through authoritarian control could we use food wisely and well. Before going to Washington I shared the Dulles point of view. But he did not tell us that the cost of living rose 82 per cent! During the Second World War the rise in prices has been only 35 per cent, in a time when our national income reached an all-time high. At the Churchmen's Seminar, Senator Wagner, Leon Henderson, Chester Bowles, and a young veteran named Charles Bolté made a strong case for price controls. Their warnings too have been justified by experience. Today a chain store that sold butter for 53 cents a pound is charging 77 cents. Other necessary commodities have skyrocketed in an inflation that imperils our economy.

Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, gave one of the most forthright and challenging addresses on the conference program. As we confront the election in November his words are memorable! "What is needed today is men who are not concerned about re-election." He denounced emphati-

cally the ridiculous rules of the Senate in which the FEPC bill was killed by a filibuster of nineteen days. "We've gone a long way from majority rule—when legislation is passed only with the approval of the minority. This filibustering technique is a denial of both the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." Such an attack on the tactics of the Southern Democrats by a Republican may have been a good political gesture. But there was a ring of sincerity and concern about the inefficiency of the legislative machine that was impressive.

We visited the Senate when it was supposedly in session and found eleven Republicans and thirteen Democrats on the floor. The filibuster over the loan to Britain was in progress and a roll call was conducted to kill time. The "greatest deliberative body in the world" did not impress me, and the House of Representatives was equally disappointing.

After an informative and interesting conference in the Senate judiciary room with Senator McMahon and his legal counsel for the bill providing for the domestic control of atomic energy, we had an evening

session for the Churchmen's Seminar at the First Congregational Church. Dr. Edward Wichers, an atomic scientist, Senator George Aiken, and Miss Dorothy Fosdick of the State Department, were the speakers.

Martin Luther went to headquarters in Rome and on his return nailed his 95 theses on the castle door in Wittenberg, thereby commencing the Reformation. Going to the nation's capital is a similarly disillusioning experience for any idealistic, hopeful preacher. I returned to my parish with an urgent conviction that we need a radical program of reform in our national Government. It would be no loss to the country if most of the politicians who will seek re-election in the November election were decisively defeated! We need new blood in Washington.

Three weeks after going to Washington, I was a commissioner to the democratic, progressive, efficient General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The comparison of the highest executive, legislative, and judicial body of our denomination with the functioning of our national Government heightens one's enthusiasm and hope for the Church.

No matter what theory of the origin of government you adopt, if you follow it out to its legitimate conclusions it will bring you face to face with the moral law.—Henry van Dyke.

The Reorganization of Congress

*By Robert M. La Follette, Jr. **

ON JUNE 10 the United States Senate passed the legislative reorganization bill by a thumping three-to-one majority. This legislative miracle was a great victory for better government, and a challenge to the House of Representatives to do likewise. At the present writing the bill is pending before the House. We are pressing for its consideration before this Congress adjourns and the House may have acted upon it before this article appears in print.

Known officially as the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, this measure is the end product of long and careful study by the so-called La Follette-Monroney Committee—a joint, bipartisan Congressional committee which began its work in March, 1945. After a year's study the joint committee concluded in its final report that Congress today is neither organized nor equipped to perform adequately its main functions of determining policy, supervising administration, controlling Federal expenditures, and representing the people. In order to correct these defects and improve the efficiency of our national legislature, we proposed a series of sweeping reforms in the machinery and methods

of Congress. These reforms were embodied in a bill which I introduced in the Senate on May 13 and which came up for floor consideration on June 5.

Fortunately I obtained the backing of both the majority and minority leaders of the Senate, and assumed floor leadership on the bill. Four days of debate ensued. I was forced to make some minor concessions, but succeeded in resisting all major changes. I knew I had the votes to pass the bill, but I was faced with delaying tactics that made the situation look hopeless. Finally, on June 10, I maneuvered a unanimous-consent agreement to limit debate, and a few hours later the bill was passed by an overwhelming vote of 49 to 16. Twelve other Senators who were unable to be present at the time of the unexpected vote were formally recorded as favoring the bill, although they could not vote.

The bill passed the Senate in substantially the same form that it was introduced. Title VII, which proposed to grant self-government to the District of Columbia, was eliminated because of conflict with other pending legislation to accomplish the same purpose. The Appropriations Committee was enlarged to a membership of 21 members (as against 13 members for all

* U. S. Senator from Wisconsin; Chairman, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress.

other committees). The office of a director of personnel for Congress was eliminated, but certain functions were retained. The functions of a proposed Veterans Committee were divided between the proposed committees on finance and public welfare.

In order to give you certain details, let me review the bill by summarizing its various sections.

Title I of the bill amends the rules of the Senate to simplify the committee structure. Fifteen standing committees are established, with clearly defined jurisdiction, to replace the existing overlapping structure of thirty-three committees. If and when action is taken in the House, similar provisions will probably be inserted so that a parallel committee structure will exist in both houses, with the same names and jurisdiction, and authority to hold joint hearings on matters of common interest.

Part 2 of the first title makes provision for regular annual recesses to insure the return of members to their constituencies at fixed intervals. It also provides improvements in committee procedures affecting hearings, records, reports, and bill digests. Special committees are banned and conference committees are specifically confined to the consideration of matters in disagreement between the two houses. This part of the bill also authorizes the standing committees to exercise con-

tinuous supervision of administrative action under the laws.

Another important item under this title relates to the Congressional control of national finances. To remedy the divided authority that now exists, the committees concerned with receipts and expenditures would be required to meet jointly and agree on an over-all budget. Any excess of expenditures would require approval of a concurrent resolution by record vote before any appropriation could be made. Other improvements in the appropriation procedure would lift the veil of secrecy from appropriation hearings; allow members more time to study hearings and reports before expenditure bills reach the floor; forbid reappropriation of unexpended balances; and outlaw legislative "riders" on appropriation bills.

Title II of the bill contains numerous miscellaneous provisions. It enlarges the functions of the legislative reference and bill-drafting services of Congress. It sets up a stenographic pool. It authorizes each member to employ a high-caliber administrative assistant. Each reorganized standing committee is authorized to employ four professional staff members on a permanent basis, without regard to political affiliations, subject to appointment or discharge by a majority of the committee. The Committee on Appropriations is allowed four addi-

tional professional staff members. One of the most important provisions is that for the creation of Majority and Minority Policy Committees in each House, each to consist of seven members. These committees would afford unity of command and help to promote party responsibility and accountability for party platforms.

A closely related provision is that for the creation of a Joint Legislative-Executive Council. This council would be composed of the majority policy committees in Congress and of the President and his Cabinet. It would bridge the gap between the two branches created by our inherited system of separated powers. It would facilitate better teamwork in the formulation and administration of national policy. We all know that periodic deadlocks between Congress and the President cause dangerous crises in the conduct of our government.

Title III provides for the registration of organized groups and their agents who seek to influence legislation. It requires them to file detailed accounts of their contributions and expenditures.

Title IV provides for the administrative and judicial adjustments of tort claims against the United States, to relieve Congress of the job of serving as a judicial tribunal in the settlement of private claims.

Title V is a General Bridge Act that grants the consent of Congress to the construction of bridges over

navigable streams, subject to the approval of the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War.

Title VI increases the annual compensation of members of Congress to \$15,000. It also permits members to join the present Federal retirement system on a contributory basis.

Briefly, these are the major provisions of the bill as it passed the Senate. Adoption of these reforms, I believe, will at once revitalize our national legislature, expedite the solution of our postwar problems, and renew popular faith in American democracy.

The implications of Congressional reorganization go far beyond the halls of Congress. Anyone who has given serious thought to current governmental problems must recognize that the world today is torn between two conflicting ideologies. As I look into the future I am convinced that the survival of democracy and the representative form of government will be determined by the outcome of this conflict of ideologies. The fate of democracy will depend upon whether we make the legislative arm of the Government efficient and responsive to the will of the people. Our democratic representative government—which places emphasis on individual rights, liberty, and the dignity of man—must act with efficiency, meet the needs and desires of the people, and offer economic opportunities.

For Time

Judged solely by its contents, the report on Social Education and Action adopted by General Assembly is of high importance; but the process by which each year it comes into being is in itself of equal importance. As one who for years has viewed that process from within, I have come to feel that it represents democracy at its best, and Christianity striving to reach the fullest measure of social development.

The report is brought before General Assembly by its Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, which is made up of ministers and laymen from each voting section, hence from every part of the country. These men must complete within three days after they first meet as a committee a statement that will stand up to the test of public opinion within the Church and throughout the nation. Even the most casual readers of this year's report will be struck by the wide range of subjects treated; by their complex and controversial nature; by the grasp shown in convictions expressed and recommendations made. All this would be impossible to achieve under the limitations of time and circumstance, if the Standing Committee had to start its work from scratch.

Thus it is that the Standing Committee has presented to it each year a document which the Division of Social Education and Action has been months in preparing. It represents many hours of discussion by the members of the Committee on Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education, consultations with persons of special competence in reference to the subjects treated, much rewriting of preliminary drafts. When finally adopted by the Committee, it is presented to the Board of Christian Education for the reactions of its members.

This, then, is the document which the Standing Committee has placed before it to be carefully studied and vigorously debated, perhaps revised or partially rewritten. For example, the Standing Committee this spring rewrote a section in its entirety; it added a whole new section; it made important changes in two other sections and alterations throughout. When the final draft is completed, the most important step of the process—discussion and debate of the report on the floor of the General Assembly—takes place.

In addition to much hard work, the process involves other notable factors. First, it represents throughout the thinking of the laity as well as of the clergy. The Committee on Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education, in which it originates, the Standing Committee of the General

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Assembly, which revises it, and the General Assembly itself, which finally passes on it—all have as many of the laity as of the ministry in their respective memberships. Secondly, the work is carried on with enthusiasm by Church people deeply in earnest about weaving the affirmations of the Christian faith into the fabric of community, national, and international life. Thirdly, there is a high sense of responsibility. A decade ago *The Christian Century* wrote of the Presbyterian Church that it tends to move forward slowly, but, once having moved, it does not retreat. Last, there is full and free expression of points of view, often at the start in sharp contrast. A member of this year's Standing Committee after its work was over, commented on the amount of time it had taken, but went on to say that time is the price we pay for respecting the right of each person to be heard and for agreement reached in the democratic way.

But the process does not come to a stop with the adoption of the report by the General Assembly. It enters a new and final phase in which we, the ministers and members of the Churches, have the main share of responsibility. A minister, using the report as the subject of a sermon, so that his congregation will be made aware of the Christian concern their denomination has in reference to social issues, both national and international; a Session giving thought, prayer, and planning to the section on race relations, in which the General Assembly, concurring in the action taken in March by the Federal Council of Churches, calls upon local Churches to disavow in thought and action the principle of segregation; a men's class, or brotherhood, facing into the insights of the section on industrial relations; a women's society taking up the report on household employment, which General Assembly has recommended for study; a young people's society thinking through the section on atomic energy; each member, as he is led, writing to the President and to his Congressmen—by these means the process is carried through to its most useful ends.

The report on Social Education and Action of the last General Assembly is now before us, wrought by the labors of a group of consecrated, informed, and concerned members and ministers of our Churches. The report is ours to make our own by taking seriously its challenge to put our Christianity to work in our social relationships.

CAMERON P. HALL,
*Associate Executive Secretary, Department of
Christian Social Relations; Co-Secretary,
Division of Industrial Relations, Federal
Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

Labor Sunday Message, 1946 *

On Labor Sunday the depth of human suffering in many lands must oppress the Christian conscience with particular force. In the true Christian community all persons and peoples are members one of another under the searching judgment of One who is Sovereign, and beneath the tender care of a father who is God. An ill-clad body protests every idle machine. A homeless or poorly housed family pulls at the sinews of every idle hand. A slave worker anywhere jeopardizes the rights of all free men.

In our own country the storms of war were a distant rumbling. In consequence we are left strong and prosperous beyond compare. But in the agony of the world we are threatened by a new spiritual isolation—the hardening of our hearts against humanity's pain. From our fields and hands and machines might rise a greater sense of world fellowship and a passion for freedom which will embrace all men.

We shall not meet our obligations to the world unless we meet them to each other in our own land. The unity of work and purpose we knew at war is now replaced by a struggle for profit and power. Out of this controversy that brings to light shortcomings in our economic practices, a higher life may come. An annual income adequate for a worthy standard of living, an economy of high production and full employment, the provision of decent housing and assured medical care, equal access to employment and other benefits of our society regardless of race and creed, the wider distribution of property and income and power—the achievement of these goals for all persons, families, and nations is indispensable to the realization of the common good.

The American people have a crucial responsibility for attaining such goals at home and abroad. Planning by public bodies and farsighted political leadership, as well as co-operative action by private groups to the same end, is necessary if chaos is to be averted. Governmental initiative and controls need not lead to irresponsible power; only by their exercise under democratic safeguards can the irresponsible power of private control and group selfishness be overcome.

Whatever the special claims made by labor or by management, goals of the common good must regulate all settlements. Unions and employers are to be commended for the stability which they have given to industries through the more than 50,000 contracts providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

* Approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued through the Industrial Relations Division, Department of Christian Social Relations. Requested to be read in the Churches on Labor Sunday, September 1, 1946, or, if preferred, on September 8, 1946.

We do not apportion the responsibility for the recent and for the current stoppages of work, but we do stress the obligation upon both parties to exercise more mutual consideration and more self-discipline; and to recognize the sanctity of contracts once executed.

Rights and Responsibilities of Labor and Employers

We note with deep satisfaction the number of employers who give evidence of their care for the common good and for the all-important factor of human relations within industry. We are heartened by instances of labor's sense of responsibility in the use of its growing power and status. To be sure, it has not always met employers with the spirit that makes for mutual agreement, nor has it as yet put its own house completely in democratic order. But just as we cannot fairly accuse modern employers as a group of indifference or hostility to the just claims of labor, or of disregard of broad human interests, so we would not accuse labor as a group of lacking a sense of social responsibility.

We would remind labor that the *Social Ideals of the Churches* has affirmed since the early years of this century the right of workers to organize freely into unions of their own choosing. There still are millions of workers to whom the benefits of trade-unionism have never been extended. It is desirable that workers in some occupations, such as agriculture, hitherto mostly untouched by the unions, should be given the advantages and protection of organized labor. Strong encouragement is due labor organizations in their efforts to improve the general welfare of their members through such activities as workers' education, child-care programs, family case work, and personal counseling; also continuing encouragement is due these organizations in their activities reflecting a social concern far beyond labor's immediate interest.

To meet the needs of this hour the Church of Christ must be strengthened in body and spirit. For social sustenance it looks to the millions of men and women of every race and class and land included in its membership, and expects of them, as Christians in an un-Christian society, sacrificial and discerning service.

For empowering and deepening of spirit it turns anew to the Lord of history and the Redeemer of mankind, the Carpenter of Nazareth, in loyalty to whom it finds its life, and by whose design the world must be refashioned.¹

¹ The message in leaflet form may be ordered from the Literature Department, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Price, 5 cents each; \$2.00 a hundred.

*Free Enterprise Means Responsibility**

FOR the next few months we shall have to buy in a "sellers' market," where the man with goods to sell can charge almost any price because shortages are acute. Several months of top-speed production will be needed to end this shortage—some place the time at six months, but it may be much shorter if all co-operate in speeding production. Supply is already catching up with demand in many lines. Shipments of durable goods in the first four months of 1946 were back to 1941 levels, with nondurable goods exceeding 1941 by 25 per cent.¹ When the supply of goods balances demand, we can expect a "buyers' market," with prices coming down to reasonable levels. Then stores will compete again to sell the best product at the lowest price. Business observers believe that prices may rise 15 to 25 per cent before the downturn starts, but, if production rises, the price increase will be short-lived.

For American workers there are three commandments in the months ahead:

1. *Produce.* Turn out all the goods you can. Whatever you produce will help to flood the market with products you want to buy and bring down the price you pay.

* From *Labor's Monthly Survey*, American Federation of Labor, July, 1946. Used with permission.

¹ Commerce Department figures, expressed in quantity of goods, not value.

2. *Improve efficiency at your plant.* Look ahead. You will want a wage increase later on and you want to avoid a strike. Put this proposal to your management: Co-operation of union and management to increase production per man-hour and prevent waste; records showing financial gains from this co-operation to be furnished by management to the union for collective bargaining. Increased efficiency is the way to higher wages, lower prices for the consumer, a better market for your product, and a more secure job for you. Increased efficiency does not mean speed-up when accomplished through union-management co-operation.

3. *Patronize co-operative stores* where you will find fair prices.²

Productivity and Rising Wages

Traditionally, America has paid for rising wages by increasing productivity. This is the only way to raise living standards. The alternative—to pay for wage increases by raising prices—is no gain at all for workers, because living cost cancels wage gains.

Manufacturing

A peculiar problem confronts many manufacturing industries today. Because our greatest effort was

² Write to the Federation for the address of the nearest co-operative store.

thrown into war production from 1942 to 1945, productivity in war plants rose 61 per cent in this period.³ Our all-out effort accomplished in less than four years a productivity increase which would normally take fifteen years. But we did this by sacrificing progress in our civilian industries. Plants producing civilian goods lost thousands of highly skilled workers to war plants and to the Army; their machinery wore out and could not be replaced because steel was needed for munitions and the best modern machinery was essential for war plants. So productivity in civilian industry declined slightly during the war and did not begin to increase again until 1945. The latest figures (1945) show productivity in civilian industries less than 2 per cent above 1942, while productivity in war industries rose 61 per cent in the same period. Under wartime controls, "real" hourly earnings⁴ rose 9 per cent in war industries and 14 per cent in nonwar industries in this period.⁵

³ Figures for 1945 in war industries cover only the full war months January through July.

⁴ Adjusted for increased living costs by the Labor Department Consumer Price Index without Mitchell Committee adjustment.

⁵ Figures from U. S. Labor Department. In war industries, figures are for January through July, to correspond with productivity figures. War industries are represented by "durable goods," nonwar by "nondurable goods." The wage increase in nonwar industries was greater in these years because wages were in general lower, and Government controls permitted greater increases for substandard and low-wage workers.

Wage increases in nonwar industries were possible because production rose from semidepression levels to full capacity levels, greatly reducing overhead costs. But in 1946, with civilian industry already at high levels, further large savings on overhead cannot be counted on. Wage increases this spring have been paid for by raising prices. Since V-J Day almost 20,000,000 workers have received wage increases averaging 10 to 20 cents an hour. Many A. F. of L. members received more.

Today America's ability to raise wages without increasing prices and living costs depends on increasing productivity in civilian industries. We start now with a deficit to make up. These industries are four years behind their normal productivity increase. Many plants need new tools and machinery; many have not yet completed reconversion from war work. Some are still short of skilled workers. Every effort must now be exerted to make up this productivity deficit and swing our industries back to their normal progress which can raise "real" wages and living standards. This can be done only by the same co-operation of management and labor that created our productivity miracle in war industries.

Here is the challenge to free labor and free enterprise: Co-operate to increase productivity and raise living standards without strikes.

BRING PRICES DOWN BY PRODUCING THE GOODS!

Issues Affecting the Elections

*By Benson Y. Landis **

POLITICAL campaigns are inevitably complex and obscure. Much campaigning, like much lobbying in Washington, is done "underground." The alignments of powerful groups are not always clear.

In the fall of 1946, a partial referendum will be conducted among the people, which may determine certain general directions, if the people are of a mind to give them to their legislators. In this forum of many interests and mixed motives, it is difficult to discern where the public interest lies or how it is being protected or advanced.

Washington has become the place of operations of a large number of public relations experts. These serve employers of diverse purposes. Some are in the Government itself. Some are employed by ambitious members of Congress. Most are employed by the "groups" that are on the alert to influence the legislative and the administrative process.

Lately, one group after another has been obsessed with the idea that it holds the balance of power in the United States. One farm group has been told that it holds the balance. Several labor groups apparently have been told—or believe—the

same thing! If issues are decided by close votes, then any one of a number may hold the balance.

In the postwar session of Congress, many of the underlying issues before the nation greatly affected the daily operations. It was freely predicted in August, 1945, that Congress would make decisions that would decide the trend of postwar policies and programs. These forecasts proved to be wrong. Congress was hesitant, decided most issues reluctantly, and avoided many decisions. This may in large part have been caused by inability of members of Congress to appraise the power of rival pressure groups in their constituencies. And these groups reflect basic issues in ways that newspapers do not always reveal.

The power of organized agriculture as against that of organized labor affected many votes in Congress and promises again to affect the elections of 1946. The interests of the large groups of the great cities, people largely without property, are frequently different from the prevailing rural values. One sees this in the quest for security on the part of those of the cities who live in conditions of insecurity. The rural vote is often reluctant to accept the social legislation that appeals to urban labor, and over 40 per cent of our

* Secretary, Washington Office, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and co-operating bodies.

people still live in places of less than 2,500 population. The smaller cities often vote "rural" when they confront proposals from large cities.

The great growth of organized labor in the past fifteen years, from about 3,000,000 members to over 14,000,000, in itself poses issues of first importance. Labor wishes to preserve its "gains." In the process, it has undoubtedly thoroughly scared many of the traditional middle class—not to mention the forces of great wealth which have very few votes. Labor wishes to preserve the right to strike and calls it an "inalienable right." But a great many people are not convinced that the right to strike is absolute. The fall elections may indicate whether the people are determined to limit by law the right to strike, especially in the utilities, railroads or basic industries.

What types of economic controls and planning will we want in the postwar period? We live in a mixed economy, with private enterprise predominating. But some planning seems essential. The issue is, How much and by whom? And who will "plan the planners?" The average man seems to have been confused about the degree of regulation, about slogans of this interest or that, about deficit financing. Yet the common sense of the common man eventually decides, and in a democracy is the final reliance and safeguard.

What will the veterans want?

What will be the mood with respect to continuing the processes of international co-operation? Will the people give indications for or against compulsory military training? Will the people want a public system of insurance for prepayment of medical care? The interest in the issues will be determined by the extent to which the candidates desire to stress them. The fall elections may show the extent of veteran interest in politics. After World War I, veterans in large numbers won seats in Congress.

In this situation, will Churches and religious groups have an influence? It has been said on good authority that most Roman Catholics are Democrats and, north of the Mason and Dixon's line, most Protestants are Republicans. If that is so, it considerably affects "religious influence." In the ferment of the upheavals in our society, of which an election is only one aspect, it is hard to discern in quantitative terms the ways by which Churches try to create the good life by means of political action. This is probably because our Church people do not have in large numbers a devoted interest in the great issues of our time, and do not see how they can engage in fruitful social action through religious motivation.

This only emphasizes the continuing need for enlightened religious education and wise social action with respect to the political tasks that lie before us.

WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

General Assembly Suggestions

The following statement covers the World Order Movement section of the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action to the 158th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America:

"The international situation is critical. Deep concern and much skepticism are felt as to whether the purpose of the nations is strong enough or the United Nations, as an instrument, is effective enough to build an ordered and just world. It is essential that our people continue to be informed and to give intelligent support to the United Nations, which, though perhaps imperfect, can, if properly used, be the instrument for the forging of international co-operation and world order.

"Your Committee therefore recommends:

"1. That General Assembly receive with approval the information that the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education plans to continue the World Order Movement, 1946-1947.

"2. That General Assembly urge upon the Churches its sense of the importance of their full participation in the World Order Movement.

"3. That General Assembly direct the Department of Social Education and Action, and urge the Churches, to co-operate with and participate in the World Order program of united Protestantism as adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in March as follows:

"Prayers of intercession be made on behalf of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which meets in the United States beginning September 3. [Special emphasis on September 22.]

"Regional interdenominational conferences for ministers and lay leaders on the Christian strategy for world order be held during September.

"A Church-wide enlistment for study and Christian peace action be held from World-wide Communion Sunday [October 6] to World Order Sunday [November 10]. (These phases of the World Order Movement program to be set up so as not to conflict with the proper emphasis to be accorded the Restoration Fund.)

"Christian citizenship be exercised in respect to the forthcoming elections in the light of study of, and consequent action upon, the issues treated in the international relations section of this report."

Many reasons might be cited for continuing emphases in World Order: dangerous growth of nationalism; world famine in the midst of plenty; general impression that international co-operation is not working; war-weariness; and growing feeling that the United Nations with all of its vaunted machinery and idealism is not successful as an agency for world peace—these forces are uniting to create indifference and foster a sense of defeatism. *We shall in this movement be joining hands with other denominations offering the co-operative Christian approach to this issue.*

POLITICAL ACTION

*The 79th Congress in Review**

During the period between the adjournment of the 79th Congress and the fall elections, many evaluations of its record will be made. As a guide to readers, *The Washington Report* presents the following record of action on important legislation. The position taken by the Legislative Committee of the Council for Social Action is indicated. In some cases, qualifying remarks are necessary.

Legislation supported by Legislative Committee which passed.

- Employment-Production Act of 1946 (preferred original form)
- Patman Emergency Housing Bill
- School lunch program
- Repeal of Chinese Exclusion Act
- Appropriations for UNRRA
- Bretton Woods proposals for International Bank and Monetary Fund
- Extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements program
- United Nations Charter
- Food and Agriculture Organization
- National Mental Health Foundation
- World Court

Legislation supported by Legislative Committee which was defeated or died in committee.

- Raising minimum wage to 65 cents per hour
- Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission
- Missouri Valley Authority
- Federal Aid to Education
- Expand Unemployment Compensation provisions
- Amend Two-thirds Rule for ratification of treaties
- Extension of OPA (supported original bill, opposed amended bill, reluctantly accepted final bill as amended) **

Legislation supported by Legislative Committee still pending. Action possible before adjournment.

- Anglo-American Financial Agreement (British Loan) **
- McMahon bill for civilian control of atomic energy **
- Reorganization of Congress **
- National Housing and Redevelopment program (Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill)
- National Science Foundation
- Hill-Burton Hospital Construction bill **

Legislation opposed by Legislative Committee which was defeated in committee or Congress.

- Gossett bill to reduce immigration quotas 50 per cent

* From *The Washington Report*, July 1, 1946, published by the Legislative Committee of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches. Used with permission.

** Passed since publication of above review.

Bill for immediate transfer of USES to states
 Bill to prohibit certain materials from being sent through mails
 Emergency strike control bill
 Case strike control bill
 May-Johnson bill for military control of domestic atomic energy plants
 Peacetime universal military training

Legislation on which constructive hearings were held but no action taken.

Extension of Social Security (modified bill) **
 National Health program
 International Health Organization
 United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization**

Here is a factual picture of the 79th Congress as it operated in the historic period of transition between the Second World War and peace. While it contains some important accomplishments, particularly in the field of international relations, the record is largely one of confusion, delay, and vacillation. Generally speaking, Congress has not kept pace with many alert citizens and groups. This should be kept in mind in the forthcoming Congressional elections.

Congressional Voting Records

Reprint of a compilation of voting records prepared by the Legislative Committee, Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches, and the Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington, D. C. 5 cents a copy.

Order from Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, or from Presbyterian Book Stores:

Philadelphia 7.....	Witherspoon Building
New York 10.....	156 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh 22.....	Granite Building
Chicago 3.....	8 South Dearborn Street
Los Angeles 13.....	315 South Broadway

Law

With us, law is nothing unless behind it stands a warm, living public opinion. Let that die or grow indifferent and statutes are wastepaper, lacking all executive force.—Wendell Phillips.

** Passed since publication of above review.

Significance of Labor Day for the Christian Church

(Continued from page 9)

into strictest conformity with its ethical principles. The Church must be known as the most Christian employer in the city. Does that sound strange? The Church must be known as the investor of most conscientious scruple and integrity. The Church must be recognized as a purchaser that exercises the greatest caution in regard to the businesses it supports and the conditions that prevail in those businesses. These matters seem too obvious to mention, yet as a matter of fact the practices of the Church often have not risen so high as those of secular business, frequently falling below the standards of the market place.

Let us now turn to some of the responsibilities that the Church may well expect labor to assume on this Labor Day, 1946.

1. Labor must, first of all, understand that it has become big business and adjust its rights in conformity with that fact. Labor can no longer afford to be a mere pressure group seeking advantages for itself from government and industry regardless of the effect on the rest of society. Organized labor is a movement of national, nay, international significance, and must push back its horizons and develop a statesmanship commensurate with its place in the world. Doubtless much of the leadership of organized labor is aware of this necessity, but the ranks of labor have grown so rapidly that the rank and file too often have not been educated to this new destiny. One of the critical questions of our time, one which labor leaders are most concerned about, is whether organized labor can train local leadership fast enough to accept the responsibility of power and develop the necessary vision and self-discipline that go with the possession of power.

2. Labor needs the Church and should seek an active participation in the life of

the Church. This is important for two fundamental reasons. Any institution possessing great power will become corrupted in the use of that power unless it possesses humility. Humility alone can guide labor in the use of its power, and the sovereignty of the Eternal God, constantly presented by the Church, is the source of humility. The second reason labor needs the Church is that if it is to develop to its fullest usefulness it must possess disinterestedness—that is, it must be self-disciplined enough to pass over its own immediate advantage to embrace a long-range goal which offers a more total advantage to human society. Such disinterestedness is derived only from a spiritual insight which can take up into its own life the truth that “whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it.” It is of vital importance that the future of organized labor be so integrated with the life of the Churches that these disciplines will be available to it.

3. Too often organized labor has held itself aloof from the Church even where a minister has taken great risks in a conservative community to show his understanding and his friendship. The situations where labor could have strengthened the hands of a minister or encouraged a friendly Church but has shown no interest, nor has accepted any responsibility, are far too many. There are limits, which we are already approaching, beyond which the Church cannot go without the shared fellowship of labor in worship, in Christian education, in fellowship. Organized labor should move toward the Church in definite response to the Church's outreach to the ideals and legitimate aspiration of labor.

This coming year will be an opportune time for the Church and labor to consider together some of these mutual responsibilities, for in this area of friendship and Christian understanding lies an important resource for the mitigating of tensions and the resolution of economic problems.

Sanctuary

A Litany of Social Action *

Leader: Let us listen to the words of Holy Scripture, and let us take heed how we listen: "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. . . . Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth. . . . You cannot serve both God and Money. . . . Take heed and beware of covetousness. . . . Be not anxious for the morrow; for the morrow will be anxious for itself. . . . Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father who is in heaven. . . . Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth. . . . Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God. . . .

"Ye are the salt of the earth. . . . Ye are the light of the world. . . . Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. . . . Enter ye in by the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many are they that enter in thereby. . . . Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven. . . .

"Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven."

Leader: Let us pray: O Thou, Holy and Eternal God of the universe, who didst reveal thyself to holy men of old and who didst send thy Son our Lord Jesus to make known thy ways to men, we thank thee for the precious gift of the Holy Bible, with its wonderful words of life, and pray that thou wilt open our eyes that we may behold wondrous things in thy law, and be led into glorious communion with thee and ennobling fellowship with our brethren. Amen.

Leader: We thank thee, our loving Father, for the glorious dream of the Kingdom of God on this earth, for the hope of the day when all men everywhere will know and do thy holy will.

People: Help us, O Lord, to help thee transform the ideal into the actual City of God upon this earth.

Leader: We thank thee, O Thou Mighty Creator, for the bounty of the earth, for the skill of man's hands, and beseech thee to help us so to make use of our heritage that there may be plenty for every child of thine throughout the wide earth.

People: Help us, O Lord, to help thee provide plenty for everybody.

Leader: O Thou God of Compassion and Lord of Mercy, who art ever giving and forgiving, grant unto us such a clear understanding of the cancerous sins of covetousness and envy that we may cut them out of our lives, and may nurture the grace of generosity.

People: Create in us a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within us.

Leader: Teach us, our Father, to understand the profounder meanings of the words of our Lord that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

People: Give us light, O God, and confidence to walk in the light.

* From *The Light Is Still Shining in the Darkness*, by Kirby Page. Used with permission.

Leader: Let us even now, in quietness, examine ourselves before God, and seek vision from him that we may behold ourselves as we really are.

Leader: Help us, O God, to love thee with all our mind, and grant unto us clear understanding of the sin of pitting men in fierce and devastating struggle for daily bread when thou didst make us for fellowship and co-operation.

People: Forgive us, merciful Father, and help us to love thee with all our mind.

Leader: Almighty and Compassionate God, who didst make of one blood all the peoples that dwell on the face of the earth, and who yearnest to have them live together in brotherly kindness, grant unto us all a clear vision of the sin of dividing thy children into compartments for the purpose of discriminating against them and segregating them, instead of treating them all as thy children for whom Christ died.

People: Forgive us, merciful Father, and help us to make amends.

Leader: Strengthen in us, O God, the determination to tear down the walls of division that obstruct the life of fellowship among all thy children of all races and nationalities and classes.

People: Forge in us the will to fellowship, Good Lord.

Leader: O Thou, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who didst teach his disciples to pray for their enemies, and who on the cross didst pray for the forgiveness of the men who were crucifying him, grant unto us clear vision of the sin of war, and strengthen in us the determination to walk only in the ways of peace.

People: Open our eyes, O God, that we may see, and strengthen our determination to follow the Prince of Peace.

Leader: Let us now silently listen as God speaks to each one of us.

Unison Prayer: "God of grace and God of glory, On Thy people pour Thy power; Crown Thine ancient Church's story; Bring her bud to glorious flower. Grant us wisdom, Grant us courage, For the facing of this hour.

"Cure Thy children's warring madness, Bend our pride to Thy control; Shame our wanton, selfish gladness, Rich in things and poor in soul. Grant us wisdom, Grant us courage, Lest we miss Thy Kingdom's goal.

"Save us from weak resignation To the evils we deplore; Let the search for Thy salvation Be our glory ever more. Grant us wisdom, Grant us courage, Serving Thee whom we adore."

Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The May issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS reprinted with permission "The Myth of World Government," by Reinhold Niebuhr. Through oversight the usual credit line, "From *The Nation*, March 6, 1946," was omitted.

Democracy or Dictatorship

(Continued from page 16)

quires organization. It would be impossible to benefit from scientific progress without organization. We must keep the organizations, but we must make them democratic, that is to say, we must make them democratic if we really believe that the people are the source of all authority.

I undertake to say that if capitalism would save itself it must first help to save economic democracy. It will not do merely to preserve the forms of political democracy. The remedy must go far deeper. It must reach the roots of economic and political freedom. It must protect the individual, for it is at that level that we find the cause of all the turbulence that has made this era the most violent and bloody in human annals. Men fight to live and they will not hesitate to overthrow any institution that appears to be an obstacle to their living. All history teaches us that the system that does not serve the economic needs of the people withers and dies. Capitalism cannot escape that fate unless it is made to serve the economic needs of men.

Capitalism cannot successfully defend itself if it insists that the modern collectivist economic unit shall be governed from above by management according to its own unsupervised will. Capitalism must begin at the beginning and take whatever steps may be necessary to make the modern economic organization responsive to the people. It must be prepared to accept economic democracy, that is to say, it must be prepared to make private management, as well as public management, subject to the public interest.

This should not be regarded as an attack on management. It is not. The modern world requires management. It requires private management and it requires public management. The necessary objective of public policy is only to prevent excesses whether committed by private or public

managers. Conserve the good, but eliminate the abuses.

Corrective Procedure

Government bureaus, for example, should no longer be permitted to make and interpret economic law. Private management likewise should not be permitted to do the same thing. If Government regulatory bodies are to have set over them, as they should, an impartial tribunal to which the citizen and the citizens' organizations may appeal from administrative rules, regulations, and decisions, then surely there must also be a tribunal to which the citizen and his organizations may appeal from the rules, regulations, and decisions of private management.

It is not sufficient, however, merely to set up a corrective procedure to be invoked after the commission of an act against the public interest. The times cry out rather for preventive procedure which will safeguard the public in advance from the restrictive and coercive practices which all experience teaches us have accompanied the development of the collectivist economic unit.

This was the thought I had in mind when in March, 1941, in the Final Report of the Temporary National Economic Committee I sought to distinguish between the individual and the organization in the following words:

"Democratic society is willing to permit the individual to exercise the utmost freedom because no individual acting alone can so injure the entire community (except in the case of crime) as to justify the withdrawal of individual liberty. This is not the case, however, when organizations become so large and powerful that by weight of numbers, by wealth or power, they threaten or affect the public welfare. In such instances the public has the right to define the nature and the form of the organization, not for the purpose of 'regimenting' it but for the sole purpose of mak-

ing certain that the organization shall operate in the public interest."

National Charters

If by law we recognize that economic organization, like Government organization, must serve the people, then it necessarily follows that we should by statute clearly define the duties and responsibilities of all such organizations so that none of them may be a law unto itself and all of them may be able to read in the law just what they may and may not do.

This is the basis on which democracy can answer totalitarianism, on which free men can escape both economic and political absolutism. The economic organization like the state itself is the servant, not the master, of men.

In America the people and only the people may prescribe the nature and the form of government. That's why we have a Federal Constitution written by the people; that's why the states have constitutions and the cities charters. That's why we boast of having "government of the people, by the people, for the people." If there is now danger of government for the

people by public managers, it is because we have not taken the time and trouble as a people to draw a constitution for the economic organizations that dominate our business life.

The result has been that economic organizations write their own constitutions without regard to the people, and private management comes into existence exercising such power over the trade and commerce of the people that when things go wrong the people turn to Government and expand its powers. Thus business loses the very freedom it most wants and invites the regimentation it most dreads.

If only instead of insisting upon the blank checks of a Delaware charter, thus setting a bad example for the Federal Government itself, business leadership would recognize the logic of national charters for national business, it could help to stop the growth of "big government." A Federal statute fixing national standards of power and responsibility for corporations engaged in interstate commerce would actually set business free because it would render unnecessary the creation of discretionary Federal bureaus to manage management.

Naturalization Bills Become Law

Under the new law as enacted, Filipino persons or persons of Filipino descent now in the United States can become American citizens if they have lived in the United States since before May 1, 1934, or if they entered the United States legally after May 1, 1934. Those who entered the United States illegally before May 1, 1934, can become American citizens by showing continuous residence in this country since the date of their entry.

Under the law as enacted, natives of India can become American citizens if they have lived in the United States since before July 1, 1924. (The general situation affecting natives of India is the same as that affecting Filipinos except for the date of July 1, 1924, for natives of India and May 1, 1934 for Filipinos.)

Additional information can be obtained by writing to the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

The Workshop

S.E.A. Program for the Local Church. The following message was sent by Mrs. Paul Gebbhart, Chicago presbyterian secretary of S.E.A., to all local Church secretaries at the beginning of the year.

Social Education and Action is an integral and equal part of the program of Christian Education with the other branches of work in our Presbyterian Church. Programs and techniques are responsive to success and failure experiences. It is a program whose purpose is to educate Presbyterians to recognize the areas in our social life and structure that challenge the principles of our Christian faith; to seek the facts causing such conditions and ways in which Christians may meet such needs and change such conditions.

Why This Emphasis?

Because we recognize our moral responsibility for the actions and relations of the group life of which we are a part, we seek to bring our actions and relations in social, racial, political, economic, as well as spiritual, life in conformity with the teachings of Christ.

How Do I Set Up Such a Program?

Promote program participation (using your own membership as much as possible). Make announcements at each meeting as to current issues (facts), forthcoming meetings of interest. Supply literature for your society and your Church. Distribute Church and society bulletins and calendars. Use your Church bulletin board. Be a source of information yourself. Seek out a small committee to plan your work and to work with you. Most important of all, acquaint your pastor with your work and secure his co-operation (if possible). Suggest programs and

projects in this field to other groups in your Church. Arrange and help to guide a study group in some area of interest to them, or from the important items suggested as Goals for 1946. Investigate the needs of your neighborhood or community. Seek to emphasize some area of our work in your Sunday School and youth groups.

Some Suggestions

Make your programs pointed and interesting! Your announcements short and factual! Suit your plans to your group (don't try to be too ambitious at first). Set some definite goals to achieve. Plan toward those goals. Participate in some social action. It is not enough to talk about it. Translate the larger program of the Presbyterian Church to your own group. One program a year is not carrying on an adequate work in S.E.A. Use varied forms of presentation such as panel discussions, quiz programs, spotlight talks, movies, discussions on some definite question, or a community clinic of your neighborhood needs and problems. Never argue—always persuade. Always have the necessary facts for suggesting action. Co-operate with and use the character-building agencies in your community and neighborhood. Become acquainted with them personally. Your goal is to permeate our social, economic, and political life with the spirit and principles of Christ; to stimulate our Presbyterian membership to recognize their obligations for carrying out in action what they profess in principle.

Every local Church S.E.A. officer should order *Christian Citizenship*, which embodies the pronouncements on social issues by the General Assembly and forms the basis upon which local Church programs, and action should be built. (See page 48.)

Legislative Success Is No Accident.

Back of the simple notice "Georgia Legislature Passes Child Labor Law" lies a success story—the kind of success story we need to hear more often, for it tells how state and community leaders worked together to achieve a common goal, the passage of an adequate child labor law for the protection of the state's children.

It is important for others hoping for similar success in revision of child labor or school attendance laws to take note of the fact that the real start toward final enactment of a good child labor law in Georgia was made when someone asked the simple question, "Why?" when a committee responsible for a youth program recognized symptoms of a larger problem in declining activity attendance records. Investigation showed scores of boys and girls too busy with afterschool jobs to take part in activities which they themselves had demanded and helped to plan. Even more serious, school records revealed a drop in school attendance and enrollment, an alarming exodus of boys and girls from high school for dead-end jobs.

The need to do something about this situation was discussed with the Y.W.C.A. Public Affairs Committee, which in turn consulted the League of Women Voters on next steps for community action.

Atlanta was fortunate in having a Social Planning Council to which the problem was taken, bringing together representatives of the League of Women Voters, P.T.A., the Board of Education, the Child Welfare Board, and interested individuals, to study the situation and to make recommendations for action. Pooled experiences and knowledge resulted in the conclusion that the problem was more than local, and that back of it all lay the need for better school attendance and child labor laws.

It was decided that the newly organized Georgia Citizens Service Council—appointed by the governor—with its

special section on youth problems, was the logical group to be asked to consider the need for revision of Georgia's child labor law. To meet the problem, a special Child Labor Section was formed, composed of 24 state-wide organizations. The Y.W.C.A. representative, already a member of the Georgia Citizens Service Council's Youth Section, was appointed chairman. Because of her previous interest and convictions, the new section lost no time in getting under way.

Consultation with state and community leaders who had made repeated attempts to strengthen the child labor law, only to be met with successive failures, and with Labor Department officials, convinced the Child Labor Section that this was not a job to be undertaken lightly or to be accomplished in one year—that long-term plans were needed. Study of the facts and careful preparation for the presentation of a child labor law at the 1945 session of the legislature were started in earnest. Facts brought in by individuals from their own communities, secured through health and welfare departments, school administrators, and juvenile courts, and from quick surveys of local communities throughout the state, gave convincing and alarming proof of the need for a better child labor law. Nonattendance at school, truancy, delinquency, and growing industrial accidents to minors were facts that parents and businessmen could understand and could not refute.

Over a cup of tea, at the hairdresser's, in Church groups, or at social gatherings, members of groups related to the Child Labor Section found themselves starting conversation with child labor figures and facts with as much ease and success as those who rely upon the weather or quotations from the latest *Reader's Digest*. Individuals who had heretofore given no thought to the 4 A.M. voices of small boys delivering milk, now enjoyed this service with inside feelings of discomfort. Women who had sipped milkshakes in complete

enjoyment now sipped with one eye on the pale face of the twelve-year-old soda jerker.

Everywhere throughout the state, groups discussed Georgia's poor school attendance and child labor laws and were agreed that there was need for prompt action. When a child labor bill was finally drawn up in 1945, the general public was receptive. The compulsory school attendance law was passed without difficulty in 1945, but because a small reactionary minority proved to be better organized than the much larger but loosely organized majority, the child labor bill was tabled.

Undaunted by defeat, the section set about to evaluate its efforts and to reorganize for a strong educational campaign, since quick action was needed if a child labor bill was to pass at the 1946 January assembly. Passage of a good compulsory school attendance law—to which the Child Labor Section had given support—strengthened its position and gave a good argument for passing an equally strong child labor bill as a companion measure necessary to the enforcement of the new school attendance law.

Under the guidance of an able chairman, every one of the twenty-four member organizations got into action. In addition to 20,000 leaflets distributed throughout the state, several thousand letters went to school superintendents, state representatives, judges of superior and juvenile courts, county welfare workers, and individual members of all the participating groups; articles appeared not only in the local papers, but in labor bulletins—a series of three in both the CIO and A.F. of L. journals, and in the bulletins of the Georgia Welfare Conference, the State Bar Association, P.T.A., Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the Georgia League of Women Voters. Section members who knew the facts and were conversant with every item in the bill, spoke to civic groups, Church groups,

chambers of commerce, and to private and public welfare groups in practically every section of the state. Senators and Representatives were seen, not on Capitol Hill, but on their own front porches and in their places of business by a friend or neighbor who knew and could interpret, in local terms, the need for a good child labor law.

When the General Assembly met in 1946, the legislators, now thoroughly familiar with the bill and with the sentiments of the home-town voters (upon whom they depend for re-election), passed the bill with speed.

Enforcement is the next step. The Child Labor Section of the Georgia Citizens Service Council is already organized to take responsibility for making the law effective when it goes into operation on July 1, 1946. The biggest part of the job is already done, for the Georgia child labor law represents the co-operative efforts of legislators, labor officials, business, industry, and responsible citizens throughout the state. It should not be difficult to secure the enforcement of a law that has the backing of all the groups that worked together to pass it. (From *The American Child*, published by the National Child Labor Committee, New York City, March, 1946. Used with permission.)

Restoration Fund Gift. Francis Hayward, of Kansas City, Missouri, sent in the following information from a junior high camp: "The youngsters staked two claims, and raised about fifty or sixty dollars for the Restoration Fund. They had one meal on 'Continental rations' and gave the money to the Fund. They really thought they would die before the next full meal and they still can't imagine that anyone goes on day after day on that kind of food."

Urban League Award. Rev. James H. Robinson, Presbyterian minister in The Church of the Master, New York City, has

been honored by the National Urban League for outstanding work in the field of race relations. Mr. Robinson has worked with Mr. Harry C. Oppenheimer to overcome discriminatory practices in the Sydenham Hospital and in establishing it "as a truly democratic institution." Persons of several races serve as doctors and nurses and are represented on policy determining boards. All people are received as patients, without any type of discrimination or segregation. The Friends Award is presented by the Urban League each year to "that white and that Negro person whose co-operation in such an achievement is deemed worthy of recognition."

Student Strike Statement. The student strikes that occurred in the schools of Gary, Indiana, last year as a result of racial antagonism were widely publicized. Less publicized were the results achieved by the Urban League and progressive groups who worked with the students to overcome the antagonisms and to establish fellowship and good will. The following statement was prepared and signed only a few weeks after the strike by a group of Gary High School students, including those who had instigated the strike:

"We accept the thinking that the strike procedure is undesirable and inapplicable to problems developed in school situations. Strikes encourage animosity, friction, and unfavorable relations among students, teachers, and citizens.

"We, therefore, pledge no support of further school strikes.

"We believe a satisfactory solution of all problems at Froebel School can be effected through an organization composed of representative parents, teachers, students, and area citizens. We pledge our support of such a group now being formed at Froebel School. Further, we express our confidence in its ability to cope with current questions.

"We are firmly convinced the Froebel question is not completely isolated in all aspects, but is also definitely involved in city-wide educational practices in Gary.

"We strongly urge the Board of Education of the City of Gary to issue a statement of policy providing for the enrollment of all students, regardless of race, creed, or color, to attend whatever school is located in the zone of their residence.

"Further, we urge that complete facilities, activities, clubs, and programs of all schools be made available to all students.

"Finally, to all Gary, we say, begin now to live the American way of life—by deed rather than by word."

Ebony. Local Church groups will find many uses for a new magazine, *Ebony*, which has recently appeared on the newsstands. A well-edited picture magazine, something like *Life*, *Ebony* depicts Negro life in America. The magazine sells for 25 cents, and is published by the Negro Digest Publishing Company, 5125 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago 15.

Political Institutions

There is no country in the world in which everything can be provided for by the laws, or in which political institutions can prove a substitute for common sense and public morality.—De Tocqueville.

About Books

The Faith of a Liberal, by Morris R. Cohen. Henry Holt and Company, Inc. \$3.75.

"If liberalism were dead, I should still maintain that it deserved to live, that it had not been condemned in the court of human reason, but lynched outside of it by the passionate and uncompromisingly ruthless war spirit. . . . But I do not believe that liberalism is dead, even though it is under eclipse. There still seems to me enough reason left to which to appeal against reckless fanaticism."

Such is the spirit of this confession of faith in which Professor Cohen presents the ripe fruits of a quarter century of championship of the liberal tradition. Leavened with genial wit and abounding in the humility of a wise man, it exhibits once again the unflinching honesty of his *Reason and Nature* and *Law and the Social Order*.

Ranging over wide fields of contemporary thought—the nature and destiny of man, literature, art, science, philosophy and religion, politics, economics, law, and historical perspective in American history—these essays date from 1915 to the present and should prove rich and provocative even to the many who will not find it difficult to take issue with the professor at various points along the way, including, perhaps, the views expressed in *The Need for a Modern University* (1918), *The Dark Side of Religion* (1933), and *A Note on Rabbi Joshua of Nazareth* (1946).

The temper of Professor Cohen's thought is described in his essay on *The Future of American Liberalism* (1946) as "a faith in enlightenment, a faith in a process rather than in a set of doctrines, a faith instilled with pride in the achievements of the human mind, and yet colored with a deep humility before the vision of a

world so much larger than our human hopes and thoughts." And beginning with "the philosopher-prophet of liberalism," Spinoza, whose ideal of the *Amor Dei Intellectualis* pervades all these writings, Professor Cohen confronts his reader with a host of figures for and against the liberal tradition—Socrates, Hegel, Erasmus, Dante, Luther, Jonathan Edwards, Soloviev, Trotsky, Parrington, Holmes, Marshall, Einstein, and others—and examines such creeds as Calvinism, Zionism, Communism, Socialism, Scientism, and the like.

Of particular interest are the politico-economic essays, *Socialism and Capitalism* (1932), in which he contemplates the possibility of achieving a combination of the principles of individualism and collectivism in a well-ordered society; and *Minimizing Social Conflicts* (1939), which treats the problems of race antagonism, caste systems, and nationalism. The two essays of literary criticism, *Parrington's America* (1931) and *Forces in American Criticism* (1940), represent to this reviewer the most satisfactory evaluation to date of the late Professor Parrington's great contribution to the interpretation of American literary history and point the way for future historians.

"Revolutionaries and reactionaries alike," writes Professor Cohen, "are irritated and perhaps inwardly humiliated by the humane temper of liberalism, which reveals by contrast the common inhumanity of both violent parties to the social struggle. Liberalism, on the other hand, regards life as an adventure in which we must take risks in new situations, in which there is no guarantee that the new will always be the good or the true, in which progress is a precarious achievement rather than an inevitability." This is the quality of spirit which challenges the reader even

when he cannot agree with Professor Cohen's ideas, and makes the reading of this confession of faith a stimulating experience.

HARRY WILLIAM PEDICORD

A Negro's Faith in America, by Spencer Logan. Macmillan. \$1.75.

"I am a Negro American—all my life I have wanted to be an American." This is the opening line in the book which won first prize in the nonfiction division of the Macmillan Centenary Awards, celebrating one hundred years since the first volume was published under the Macmillan imprint.

This book is both an analysis of present conditions and a credo of one of the Negro race's most brilliant and versatile minds. It is frank, dealing with such ticklish subjects as miscegenation, Harlem, lynching, Negro veterans, and a host of other controversial topics. It is exceedingly well written and its author gives the impression of sincerity, hopefulness, and candor. An avowed champion of a more democratic way of life for all Americans, both Negro and white, Mr. Logan sets forth his program for achieving it.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will want to know this volume. It will be a valuable source book in the field of race relations.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Discerning the Signs of the Times, by Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's. \$2.50.

When the man who is both America's top theologian and most popular college preacher casts ten of his current homilies into sermonic essays, one expects an unusual reading treat, and is not disappointed. The volume deals with "perennial themes of the Christian faith" and certain aspects of it that have "special relevance" for our tragic age. This is wonderfully so, for no one writes with more prodigious knowledge in Christian apologetics and social issues in a combination that is never dull. One appreciates amid

the collapse of secularism how great is his contribution, and also the respect with which he is held in university and intelligentsia circles as well as religious. The everlasting claims of faith are presented with devastating logic.

Yet the reader will recognize much that is pure Niebuhr: the accent on divine sovereignty and judgment over against the human problem of power and self-righteousness, done with his rare flair for paradox. Of particular interest, recalling Niebuhr's leadership in justifying the war and in flaying pacifists, is his post-war emphasis on humility and reconciliation. These are underlined along with recognition of common guilt if the victor's moral aims and justice are to leave room for forgiveness and repentance, without which we must anticipate further international hatred and war. Whether Niebuhr is just riding another logical lap on the course he took in wartime, or whether, aghast at the swift deterioration of peacetime hopes, he has mounted a new horse is for every reader to decide for himself.

Emerson argued that inconsistency was the mark of a great mind, and sometimes Niebuhr appears hobbled with greatness. In the sermon entitled "The Power and Weakness of God" we are given tremendous insights on divine self-limitation for love's sake. Yet there also occurs a bewilderingly slippery use of the word "power." It variously seems to mean "authority," "sheer being," "organization," "moral suasion," "armed violence," or all of these!

Henry Sloane Coffin has neatly said that perfectionism is still "Reinnie's favorite cuss word," and in this book moralism is tossed from one sharp horn to the other of continual dilemma. Whether we must resign ourselves to this fate and forever be tortured souls for the sake of our spiritual health is perhaps as much a matter of temperament as truth. In making clear his philosophy of history Niebuhr underscores divine redemption

that necessitates a suffering servant, yet the person and work of Christ are seldom so presented as to inspire a consciousness of living in Christ. His transforming power and ever-present love for the devout believer seem muted; while the Kingdom is sketched in such distant or unrealizable terms that seeking it, knowing it now, in the companionship of a triumphant Saviour Friend, never quite become real or urgently worthy. Marvelous as is Niebuhr's ability to portray dimensions that induce the mood of awe and penance, one wonders whether he gives people a faith to live by.

Finally, two of the finest sermons in this volume are those on "Humor and Faith" and "Mystery and Meaning." A beautiful sensitivity and illumination in some of his discourses call Kierkegaard to mind. In these particularly, one can feel Niebuhr reaching the bounds of paradox, straining against them, and in spots bursting through into the realm of poetic utterance. In "Humor and Faith" he takes Ps. 2: 4—"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision"—for a text, to show how both deal with "the incongruities of existence." After delineating how laughter, if not divinely redeemed, declines into derision and despair, he writes, "There is laughter in the vestibule of the temple, the echo of laughter in the temple itself, but only faith and prayer, and no laughter, in the holy of holies."

"Mystery and Meaning" is based upon I Cor. 13: 12, "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then"—! After dissecting thirteenth-century Scholasticism, the modern scientific temper and those too ambitiously precise forms of fundamentalist Christianity for destroying "the penumbra of mystery" Niebuhr points up its necessity if the core of truth we now have is to be served.

Here Niebuhr gives a definitive statement. In most of what we are thinking, preaching, teaching, he has said things

with which we do well to reckon. If you have not read Niebuhr before, this group of sermons would make you a good introduction. If you have, you will be approaching your bookstore soon anyhow.

RALPH NORMAN MOULD

The Autobiography of William Allen White, Macmillan. \$3.75.

Must reading for anyone who wants to understand our America is the late William Allen White's autobiography. It is one of the best historical surveys of the past fifty years that I have read. White not only saw events as an observer, but participated in them and knew our national leaders personally. Thus he tells not only what happened historically, but also reveals what went on inside the men and movements that made history.

William Allen White was a curious mixture of greatness and mediocrity. His greatness lay in his moral sense, the warmth of his heart that put him on the side of right in nearly every instance, in his rugged independence, and his ability to sense and express the feelings and mind of middle-class America. His mediocrity is mediocrity only when compared with the great moral and spiritual idealists of history. He was mediocre in that he could tolerate and sometimes share business arrangements, political deals which, though never dishonest, were sometimes less than the best. However, one has the feeling that in this he was the product of his environment and background. As the years passed, he steadily grew in stature.

His inadequacy in the early years was the inability to see the moral weakness of much customary practice. For instance, he thought nothing of using political influence to get lucrative legal advertising. That was customary practice and he saw its dangers only when he saw them magnified in Harding as he was caught in the toils of a similar political past. However, when White saw the issues clearly, he unhesitatingly chose the side of right.

Perhaps what he lacked was the moral standard that would have come from a vital relationship to the Christian faith and tradition. I say this, not moralistically to drag in religion, but because of a feeling that this noted American who firmly believed in honesty and right had to judge what was right by secondhand standards, that is, Christian standards as expressed by the conduct of an average community, rather than those standards as they would be seen by firsthand acquaintance with the ethics of the Old Testament prophets and Jesus.

However, if the Emporia editor had uncompromisingly held higher standards he would probably not have been able to exercise the practical progressive leadership that he did. He has been a great, wholesome, constructive force in American life. He fought for right while maintaining friendships with publicans and sinners. He loved men while disagreeing with and opposing their actions.

Throughout the book the intimate revelation of the characters of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and others is fascinating. The story of the Versailles Conference where Wilson, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau struggled is unforgettable. The glimpse of Franklin Roosevelt makes you wish White had known him as he knew "Teddy." White didn't oppose Franklin Roosevelt except when political and personal loyalty made him support Landon, a fact that brought forth from Franklin Delano Roosevelt the choice re-

mark, "I'm glad to have Mr. White's support three and a half years of every four."

Those who want to see the greatness and mistakes of the past and view our nation through wise eyes, will read this autobiography.

HUBERT C. NOBLE

Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, National, State, and Local. Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. 1945. \$1.00.

The staff of the Social Science Institute at Fisk University, under the notable guidance of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, have prepared this very unusual directory. In its 120 pages are listed scores of organizations which are active in the field of racial and cultural relations. The listings include groups that are working exclusively in this field, as well as organizations such as labor and Church groups, for whom it is a major emphasis.

The first section of the book lists several dozen national and regional organizations; the second section lists state organizations; the third lists a large number of community groups. The information on each organization includes: the way the organization was started; its activities and program; publications and other resources that it provides; and the basis of its support.

For Social Education and Action chairmen and secretaries and for other community leaders, this directory would be a very useful guide.—N.E.K.

Government

In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.—George Washington.

Study and Action

S.E.A. Materials

Christian Citizenship. Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, 1946, as adopted by the General Assembly. *Free.*

Deliverances of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1910-1945, on the Issues of Social and Moral Welfare. *Free.*

Your Church Program of Social Education and Action. Questions answered. Principles and objectives outlined for the local Church. *Free.*

Check List of Tools for Social Education and Action. A topical listing of pamphlets, leaflets, worship services, and study, organization, and promotion guides available through the Division of Social Education and Action. *Free.*

This Atomic World. Atomic bomb symposium, with introduction by Henry P. Van Dusen; articles by Thorfin Hogness, John Foster Dulles, Harold E. Stassen. *10 cents.*

The MacKenzies Talk About the United Nations, by Helen E. Resch. Prepared in script form for local broadcasting or for group discussion. *10 cents.*

World Order and You. A 35-mm. film strip with narrator's script and suggestions for preparation and followup of the showing. For sale only. *\$2.00.*

Christianity and Minority Groups. Packet on racial and cultural relations. *50 cents.*

Color and Community, by Nevin E. Kendell. (Mimeographed.) A program for advanced groups in local Churches. Negro-white relations in the community. *10 cents.*

"Come, Let Us Worship." Stories of Fellowship Churches for all peoples and races, situated in three cities. *Free.*

Nosing Out Prejudice and Calling All Congressmen, by Fern M. Colborn. Projects for high-school people and young adults. *10 cents each.*

Martha in the Modern Age. A report on Church women and household employment, with suggestions for study and action. For use in women's study groups and committees and as a guide to women as employers. *10 cents.*

New Today and Tomorrow Leaflets: On the State of the World; The Church as Community Leader; Household Employment. For general distribution. *25 copies, free; \$1.00 a hundred.*

Order from Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Federal Council of Churches Materials

Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith. A report of the Commission on the Relation of the Church to War in the Light of the Christian Faith. *10 cents.*

The Church and Race Relations and **The Churches and World Order.** Official statements adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, Columbus, Ohio, March, 1946. *5 cents each.*

A Study Guide prepared by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace to be used in connection with *The Churches and World Order.* *10 cents.*

Order from Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

*Ultimatum for Man**

Now the frontiers are all closed.
There is no other country we can run away to.
There is no ocean we can cross over.
At last we must turn and live with one another.

We cannot escape this any longer.
We cannot continue to choose between good and evil
 (the good for ourselves, the evil for our neighbors;)
We must all bear the equal burden. . . .

Love is no longer a theme for eloquence, or a way of life for a
 few to choose whose hearts can decide it.
It is the sternest necessity; the unequivocal ultimatum.
There is no other way out; there is no country we can flee to.
There is no man on earth who must not face this task now.

—PEGGY POND CHURCH.

* From *Ultimatum for Man*, a book of poems by the author, which may be ordered from Mrs. F. S. Church, Los Alamos School, Taos, New Mexico. James Ladd Delkin, publisher. Price, \$1.50. Used with permission.

The Christian Mission for World Order—1946

*By Richard M. Fagley **

A YEAR ago the charter of the United Nations became the "law of nations," when the required ratifications were deposited with the State Department in Washington. The machinery for the continued collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of all nations, as urged in the Six Pillars of Peace, had finally come into being. Yet few informed Churchmen could have illusions that the establishment of co-operative machinery was more than a first step on the long and tortuous road toward just and durable peace. The unearthly light of the atomic bomb had revealed the new and fearful insecurity of the postwar world. The London Council of Foreign Ministers had made manifest the growing conflicts among the victors over the spoils of victory, and the great obstacles to just or stable peace settlements. Firsthand reports told of famine conditions confronting one fourth of the human race.

In the year since the establishment of the United Nations organization several hopeful steps have been taken toward the development of a better world order. The United States has placed the ultimate domestic control of atomic energy in civilian hands, and within the U. N.'s Atomic Energy

Commission has presented a forward-looking plan for international control of this weapon of mass destruction. The United States has also helped to clear the thorny path to international economic co-operation by the extension of credits, particularly to Great Britain and France. Several nations, including this country, have accepted some compulsory jurisdiction in the international law. The first of the general peace conferences, as urged by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, has been convened, thus providing an opportunity for world opinion to influence the peace settlements. A number of other favorable events could be cited.

Yet over against these gains in the struggle for world order must be set the growth of ominous tensions, primarily between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. The major victors are more and more sharply divided by fears of one another's power and suspicions of one another's motives. These have been intensified by military, political, and economic preparations and counterpreparations for possible conflict. Despite the longings of the common people everywhere, the world is being divided into two major blocs. Despite the world's impoverishment by global war, the nations are already

* Co-secretary, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

in the opening phase of a new and tragic race in arms. The grim apparition of atomic war haunts the thinking of all thoughtful people.

The state of world order in the year 1946 forces Christian citizens to examine with rigorous honesty the world order strategy of the Churches and their own responsibility in that strategy. The trend of world events leaves no room for any illusions about the character of the struggle for world order. It is at best a long, uphill struggle, with no real assurance of victory in this period of history. It is a struggle, moreover, that requires a more profound approach than most of us have hitherto made. Only a thoroughgoing moral transformation of governments and peoples can offer real hope that the crisis of mankind can be surmounted. Unless men and nations can find a new willingness to place the welfare of humanity above more narrow concerns and can use this world loyalty to fashion a new respect and confidence as a basis for constructive co-operation, then this civilization is almost surely doomed.

Since the central problem of world order is a moral and spiritual problem, a particularly heavy obligation is placed upon those who seek to follow Jesus Christ, both by the inner compulsions of faith and by the world's necessity. Of those who have been given so much, much is required. And never has there been greater need in the world for the

Christian witness. An effective demonstration of the spirit of brotherhood offers more hope than any other strategy for turning the catastrophic tide of our time.

What is required cannot be blueprinted. It cannot be reduced to a specific program. What is now required, as in times of less obvious social crisis, is a deepening of commitment to Christ, a greater sense and experience of Christian fellowship, a more sacrificial concern for the needs of men. Unless these underlie our world order activities we in the Churches will have little genuine leadership to offer.

Nor can any of us afford to be smug about the Churches' contribution in the struggle for world order. Many Christian citizens have taken a more active part in the effort to organize peace than in former decades. The Churches generally have had a more realistic estimate of the historical process, and as a result their recommendations have had greater effect than in the recent past. But such successes must be considered together with the missed opportunities and the unpreparedness for greater tests to come. Our efforts as Christians and as citizens have hardly begun to measure up to our responsibilities.

If we are to serve God more worthily in the field of world order, we must slough off those attitudes of indifference and defeatism that stand in the way of any effective endeavor.

We need to see clearly not only that our fate is bound up with that of people everywhere, but that our effort is an important part of the total effort required if society is at long last to conquer war. A fresh commitment to the Christian quest for world order and enlistment of others for this lifelong task is urgently needed. World Order Day this November provides an opportunity for Church people across the country to dedicate themselves anew to the struggle for a peaceful world.

The will to peace can be expressed in many practical ways. Some of the important avenues for Christian study and action were outlined by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at its special meeting in March. The intervening months have increased the urgency of appropriate action in some of these areas.

The Church leaders at Columbus stressed the tensions between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies as a grave threat to world community. In the statement *The Churches and World Order*, they said: "As Christians, we base our view of life upon belief in the dignity and worth of man as child of God. . . . Standing firm in our convictions, we must persistently seek sympathetic understanding, encourage every friendly negotiation, and undertake constructive tasks of common concern."

This summarizes a twofold strat-

egy for dealing with the most difficult of the problems of peace, the Soviet-Western impasse. On the one hand there is need for loyalty to principle—fidelity to "man's individual freedom, under God, to think, to believe, and to act responsibly according to the dictates of his own conscience." On the other hand there is need for loyalty to community—insistence upon patient efforts to overcome misunderstandings and fears, and to secure creative co-operation for the welfare of mankind. If the world is to transcend the present division, such a strategy seems essential. Here is a vital area for Christian educational action.

In the area of human rights and fundamental freedoms there is also much to be done. In the draft treaties with the Axis satellites the Big Four included provisions for the protection of such rights. A great deal will depend, however, upon the achievement of a world-wide bill of rights and provisions under the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council for safeguarding such rights. The long-term objective will require persistent support, if the plans are actually to be carried out. Closely connected is the problem of dependent peoples. The United States has urged other nations to place mandated territories under trusteeship agreements, but has not yet committed itself to apply the principles of trusteeship to such

(Continued on page 27)

Peace Negotiations Viewed with Greater Realism *

By Vera Micheles Dean

ON THE eve of the peace conference opening in Paris on July 29 relations between the principal Allies of World War II have reached a stage of deterioration far more alarming for the future of the world than the atomic bomb, for the bomb is merely a symbol of the profound anxiety that grips peoples everywhere. The chief problem of the Paris negotiators is not how to make peace with the former enemies but how to keep it among the former victorious Allies.

Allies Struggle for Germany

Wherever one turns, strife is rampant, and human beings who have not yet cleared away the rubble of war wearily face the threat of new conflicts. In China General Marshall's efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the central Government and the Communists have proved fruitless, and civil war has flared up anew. In Germany the four powers that had undertaken to prevent the resurgence of German nationalism are fostering it by their disagreement about the political and economic future of the country

which, even though defeated and partially destroyed, retains incalculable potentialities to determine the destiny of Europe. Will the Germans turn to Russia, even more than they did at Rapallo in 1922, when the Soviet Government was still weak and itself opposed by the Western world; and will the coalition of Germany's industrial skill and Russia's manpower, dreamed of but not achieved by such diverse leaders as Bismarck, Rathenau, and Hitler, become a reality? If such a coalition is to be prevented, what can the United States and Britain offer to Germany, which before the war was their principal competitor for world markets and whose economic recovery beyond the point where it can pay for essential imports they can hardly welcome? Will Allied control of Germany develop into a sort of auction for German support, with the Western powers and Russia trying to outbid each other? Compared to this struggle for domination of Germany, the peace treaties with Italy and the Axis satellites in eastern Europe which are to be considered by the Paris Peace Conference dwindle to peripheral importance.

Nor is it possible to argue that the Allied contestants are animated

* From *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, July 26, 1946. Foreign Policy Association. Used with permission.

solely by the desire to weaken or ultimately destroy one another. Other motives besides ambition for strategic power complicate the picture. The United States and Britain genuinely fear that Russia will use its control of eastern Germany to impose on the entire country the practices made familiar by the Soviet system, and thus defeat democratization of the Germans. Yet they have not defined their own concept of a central administration of Germany for which they have been pressing since last autumn, apparently assuming that central economic administrations for trade, finance, and so on, can be established without the need for creating central political institutions.

France, invaded by Germany three times in one generation, with equal sincerity opposes a centralized political framework for the Reich, fearing that it will again breed militarism, and for reasons both of strategy and urgent economic need France demands the detachment of the Ruhr and administration of the area by an international commission.

Russia sounds disingenuous to its wartime Allies when, after having claimed German territories for itself and Poland, it now opposes further dismemberment of the Reich. But there is little doubt that its demand for additional reparations out of the current production of an economically united Germany is due, first of all, to its own vast needs for recon-

struction, which cannot be filled promptly either by Russia's industrial facilities, severely damaged during the war, or by purchases in this country, where Moscow can have no hope for the time being of obtaining a loan. Russia itself is experiencing the ferment of postwar readjustments.

Strife Continues Unabated

Meanwhile, this struggle over Germany, which has occupied the center of the European stage since V-E Day, inevitably affects the relations of the great powers with the other nations of the continent. Poland is threatened by civil strife between the left-wing government of Premier Bierut, which sees salvation for the country only in close collaboration with Russia, and other elements ranging from the peasant party headed by former Premier Mikolajczyk, who has the sympathy but not the material support of the Western powers, and Catholic groups on whose behalf Cardinal Hlond has protested against the present composition of the cabinet.

France and Italy, both disillusioned by the character of peace negotiations—France because of Russia's opposition to detachment of the Ruhr, Italy because of the peace terms concerning Trieste, the African colonies, and cession of the Briga-Tenda area—are experiencing a new wave of nationalism. This nationalist sentiment may weaken

co-operation between Europe's Communist parties, thus in a sense counteracting the influence of Russia, but at the same time it divides the two Latin countries which together might have given stability to the Mediterranean area.

Nor is conflict limited to former theaters of war. In Latin America, now that the restraints of war have been lifted, latent unrest is bursting into violent explosions, as in Bolivia, or threatens political strife, as in Chile.

New Temper of U. S.

To all those who, in spite of warnings during the war, had hoped that the end of hostilities among nations would bring to a close the period of turmoil the world has experienced since the turn of the century, the present course of events cannot but seem disheartening. Yet much encouragement can be drawn from the temper with which the United States emerges from the agonizingly grinding conferences of the Big Four foreign ministers graphically described by Secretary of State Byrnes on July 15. Until now this country, absorbed in the building of a continent and seemingly remote from the centers of strife in Europe and Asia, had looked upon world affairs with a de-

tachment that sometimes appeared to other peoples as verging on frivolity. Now that through force of circumstances we have become immersed in the affairs of other continents, which are also our affairs, a more serious attitude is being developed by the American people toward problems of foreign policy, and this new attitude should make it possible for the United States to play a far more effective role in the world.

The nation is neither in the exalted mood induced by war emergency, nor in the mood of apathy that some observers thought they detected a few months ago. We have lost some of our illusions—illusions that colored President Wilson's idealistic approach to the peace settlement of a quarter of a century ago; but in their stead we are acquiring new convictions which should give a concrete character to our policy, too often in the past formulated in terms of lofty, but abstract, generalities. This new realism need not spell opposition, in season or out, to the desires of other countries, and especially of Russia. What it can spell is a determination to define our own objectives, limited though they may seem at any given time, and then to back up these objectives with adequate military and industrial power.

"Liberty is always dangerous but it is the safest thing we have."—Henry Emerson Fosdick.

Asia's Broken Rice Bowl

*By Pierce Williams **

LOOKED at nutrition-wise, the world's population may roughly be divided into wheat eaters and rice eaters. Among the wheat eaters, wheat is only one item in an increasingly diversified diet; but among the rice eaters, rice constitutes the bulk of their food.

Wheat has been the preferred food of the white race for centuries; rice, the chief food of yellow and brown races—of hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Japan, China, the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Burma, India, and the Netherlands Indies.

Turning to sources of supply, wheat-growing is widely diffused over the earth's surface. Disturbances in the wheat economy of one region are not likely to cause world-wide repercussions. But 95 per cent of the world's rice is grown in what has been called monsoon Asia; and there it is the predominant crop. Although over nine tenths of this are consumed in the countries where it is grown, normally 7,500,000 tons have been exported from Burma, Indo-China, Siam, Formosa, and Korea. Their surplus has been indispensable in assuring even the meager intake of

calories which characterizes the diet of the principal rice-importing countries. These are Japan, China (the south provinces), British Malaya, India, Ceylon, and the Philippine Islands.

War has shaken the rice economy of southeast Asia to its very foundations, wiping out rice surpluses in Burma, Siam, and Indo-China, and resulting in catastrophic food shortages in south China, Tonkin, India, and Ceylon—and to a lesser degree in Malaya. The Outer Provinces of the Netherlands Indies, which the Dutch had brought almost to a point of self-sufficiency before the outbreak of the war in the Pacific basin, may also be short of rice in a few months.

Starvation and Unrest

This collapse of the rice economy of the eastern hemisphere cannot fail to have political as well as economic repercussions extending far beyond the confines of the rice-producing and rice-eating countries themselves. It is in the countries of southeast Asia that revolutionary nationalist movements, aiming at independence from European colonial domination, are most active. Economic situations and political movements cannot be kept in watertight compartments, no matter how hard politi-

* Chief of a special mission on displaced persons in the Far East, authorized by UNRRA at London, August, 1945, and reporting to its Committee on the Far East at Atlantic City in March, 1946. From *Survey Graphic*, April, 1946. Used with permission.

cians and economists sometimes try. Hence this breakdown in food supply dare not be ignored in appraising the direction and strength of political trends in the colonial areas of that part of the globe.

Rice and Wheat

Measured in terms of areas sown the earth over, rice accounts for about half as much land as wheat (220,000,000 acres as against 420,000,000). Measured in terms of volume, in a "bumper" year the world has produced 6,000,000,000 bushels of wheat; while the crop of so-called "rough" (or unhulled) rice has attained as much as 7,000,000,000 bushels. Wickizer and Bennett, in their *Rice Economy of Monsoon Asia*, say that threshed wheat and hulled rice equal each other in volume of production, at about 150,000,000 tons. But measured in terms of nutritive content, rice falls considerably below wheat, as the edible portion is relatively much less. However, the authorities just named tell us that "rice probably looms larger in the daily life of more people than does wheat."

Social Picture

On the one hand, "the farmers of the world whose principal crop is rice presumably far outnumber those whose principal crop is wheat, for much of the world's wheat is produced by commercial growers on large tracts; whereas rice is pro-

duced on tiny plots by subsistence farmers."

On the other hand, "the consumers of the world whose principal food is rice probably far outnumber those whose principal food is wheat." Further, "those countries in which rice is the mainstay of the diet are in the main inhabited by countless millions living under rather adverse conditions. Agricultural pursuits commonly provide no more than a bare subsistence. In many cases, the people live apart from their neighbors; the customs, language, and practices of one part of a country differ from those in another part. The general level of literacy is low and the difficulties of communication are frequently great."¹

Urbanism and a machine economy have stamped their mark indelibly on the culture and civilization of wheat-growing regions, but the rice-growing areas of monsoon Asia are characterized by a village—almost a communal type of social organization.

In monsoon Asia, the seed is broadcast by hand, as in Biblical times, or else the seedlings are transplanted by the labor of the farmer and his family. In many areas a plow is unknown; where it is used, it is little more than a pointed stick. When the rice field (known as a "paddy") is a few inches deep in the

¹ From *Rice Economy of Monsoon Asia*, by Wickizer and Bennett. Food Research Institute, Stanford University, Calif.

first rains of the monsoon, the hoofs of the peasant's water buffalo, as he sloshes around in the muddy ground, mostly prepare the soil for the reception of the young plants. At harvesttime (the dry season between the two monsoons), the crop is cut by scythes or simple knives and gathered by hand. Threshing also is done by hand—in some places with the aid of primitive flails, in others by animals and humans treading out the grain on a dry padding field or on the floor of the farmer's hut.

All but a small fraction of the world's rice is grown under artificial irrigation, having nothing in common with the elaborately designed and solidly constructed irrigation systems of our own Far West, or even of Egypt, Soviet Russia, or modern Iraq. Once the monsoon rain has seeped into the subsoil of the rice paddy, or has drained off afterward, any further irrigation must be accomplished by laboriously carrying water from the ditches below and outside the mud dike enclosing the paddy in buckets slung across the farmer's shoulders on a bamboo pole. Or the water is lifted onto the paddy by primitive elevating devices.

In one respect wheat and rice cultivation offer one thing in common more than they did half a century ago, namely, absence of beasts of burden. But this is merely an illustration of extremes meeting. In the most advanced wheat farming in America, mechanization has left

little place for animal husbandry. In rice growing in Asia, even oxen are scarce because the tiny paddy field will not grow enough food for the farmer's family and one work animal.

Finally, the rice-growing areas in the monsoon belt are characterized by increasing tenancy and sharecropping, and by heavier and heavier burdens of debt on the small peasant farmer.

Man-made Calamity

One other comparison bears on the increasing political tension in so many parts of monsoon Asia. There is some justification for the fear that production under the rice economy, unlike that of wheat, may not be able to keep pace with the number of stomachs that must be filled.

In British India, for example, the food supply must be augmented by at least another 10,000,000 tons a year, if a minimum diet is to keep pace with estimated growth of 100,000,000 people in a quarter century.

In Java, the population density is about the highest in the world. Only a few years ago the Dutch colonial administration there succeeded in transforming a recurrent rice deficit into a small export surplus. This was needed, at the time, to fill out the rice deficiency in the Outer Provinces, notably Borneo and Celebes. Furthermore, it was the efficient functioning of the production and distribution system set up in the

Netherlands Indies that maintained this surplus. Only excessive optimism can anticipate that the delicately adjusted mechanism of rice supply and demand in Java will not have been badly thrown out of gear by the war and by revolutionary disturbances.

It needs to be emphasized that the vast shrinkage in the world's supply of rice has not been due to natural causes. This is especially true of what can be looked for in any immediate future from shipments out of Burma, Indo-China, and Siam, and into the rice deficit areas of Asia.

China's two hundred million rice eaters have never been far from starvation's edge even in so-called good rice years.

The severe famine which now seems inescapable in many parts of India, as well as in Tonkin, in the south provinces of China, and even perhaps in British Malaya and the Outer Islands of the Netherlands Indies, is a man-made calamity. It sprang from World War II.

The way in which Japanese aggression, and what came out of it, devastated rice production has been different in each of the chief exporting countries. As we have seen, there are three of these:

Indo-China: Unrest; Floods

In Indo-China, political action in a very definite form has played a major role in the rice breakdown. There, particularly in the north, the

Japanese invaders weakened the French colonial authority in every way possible. Here also geographic and meteorological facts of importance must be mentioned. The rice-growing area of Tonkin comprises the delta of the River Rouge with its tributaries. Normally, Tonkin produces just about sufficient rice for its own relatively dense population. For one generation after another, rice has been grown in this delta in small paddies. The level of these fields is now considerably below that reached by the river in floodtimes. To protect the paddies, dikes had long since been constructed—not unlike those which protect the banks of our own Mississippi at the junction of the Ohio at Cairo and below. Old records tell of their existence for at least five hundred years.

The flood season is in July and August. Alert and meticulous organization is necessary to protect the rice fields from disastrous flooding. For example, the French Government engineers regularly mobilized thousands of peasants and coolies at strategic points along the dikes in order to plug up holes in the protecting walls caused by the force of the downrushing flood. With good management, the rice lands were usually saved from serious damage; indeed, silt deposited annually by the retreating flood waters served to enrich the peasants' land.

But last summer, when the floods

(Continued on page 31)

One Year of the Atomic Age

By Edward Wichers *

THAT we are living in a new age, an age that began with man's first use of atomic energy, is finding slow acceptance in our thinking. How rapidly our minds accept and absorb that hard fact will not alter the fact itself, but may greatly influence the character of that age. For the nature of the atomic age still is undecided.

Two alternatives are before us. The atomic age may bring war, war destructive beyond all experience of past wars, so totally devastating that it will cause the ruin of civilization as we know it. We need do no thinking about the atomic age for this alternative to come to pass. It will come of itself unless we prevent it. The forces that drove the world into two great wars will reappear in their familiar patterns.

Further, in a new war a surprise attack will give so great an advantage that mistrust, suspicion, and fear of such attacks, by paralyzing sane and constructive thinking, may touch off the very thing we fear. Thus one alternative may prove to those who survive that a new age did begin in 1945!

The other alternative is that the

atomic age will be an age of peace—not merely an age in which war will be held in abeyance for a time, but an age in which a world community will emerge, where ultimately the threat of war will be as remote as is today the possibility of war between any two of our forty-eight states. Not merely a state of peace in the negative sense of freedom from war, but a state of peace in which animosities will slowly give way to respect, distrust will change to understanding, and what began as an uneasy truce will finally become an era of friendly co-operation and mutual advancement.

It would be stupid to minimize the difficulties in the way of attaining this state, or even of making beginnings toward it. But a review of events during the first year of the new age shows much that is gratifying and encouraging.

The stunned amazement with which our people heard that man had learned how to release the vast stores of energy bound up in matter, and had successfully used this energy in a revolutionary weapon of war, soon gave way to urgent questioning. What might be the outcome of this for our own security and for world civilization? Fortunately there were prompt and convincing answers to these questions, convincing because

* Since 1917 chemist in the National Bureau of Standards in Washington; during 1944 and 1945 detailed to the Atomic Bomb Laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico; trustee of the Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

those who knew the facts were moved to speak and because they spoke unanimously, with no important dissenting voice. The answers were not reassuring. Atomic bombs can destroy our cities just as they did Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In some war yet to come our major cities might be destroyed within the first few hours. There is no present or foreseeable prospect that the scientific and engineering genius that produced the weapon can provide us with a defense against it. We cannot hope to hold secret the knowledge from which this invention grew. In the words of Einstein, "What nature tells one group of men she will tell in time to any other group interested and patient enough to ask the questions."

An important element of our population has accepted these answers to their questions. They also accept the scientists' belief that the controlled use of atomic energy has as great potentialities for human welfare as for human destruction. As the result of this thinking, we have today sound national legislation relating to atomic energy. This legislation was not too easily attained, for the warning of President Truman that "the release of atomic energy is a new force, too revolutionary to consider in the framework of old ideas," was not everywhere heeded. Some of the debate in Congress was not even in terms of the better of our old ideas. But wisdom prevailed—not only the wisdom of the legislators themselves

but that of thousands of citizens stimulated to action by the many organizations that took common cause in this matter. Here is one lesson for the future—that it is feasible for an enlightened public opinion to secure wise legislation on important social questions.

The development of our foreign policy gives even greater cause for encouragement. Who could have believed a year ago that within months the American public would hear, without vigorous protest, a proposal of the State Department to surrender an important portion of the sovereignty of the United States to an international authority? Nevertheless, the Acheson report and the Baruch proposals do this, and they have found the most widespread approval. Surely this was thinking in the framework of new ideas, befitting a new problem.

The desire for security now dominates our thinking about international authority in the field of atomic energy, but the benefits of such an authority will not be limited to security. If the Baruch plan, or some approximation to it, is adopted, we may reasonably hope that the second alternative, a warless age, will come to pass. Why should this be so? First, because the fear of sudden, cataclysmic attack, itself the most uncontrollable cause of war, will be removed. Secondly, because the development by international authority of atomic energy for peaceful pur-

poses will promote a community of interest favorable to mutual understanding and to further ventures into international co-operation. This experiment in limited world government offers a means of finding out whether civilization is ready for such new steps in the evolution of society and, if so, how rapidly and in what ways this evolution may be furthered.

Thoughtful persons know that the people of the world cannot be fused into one community merely on the basis of security from a common danger or of identical material interests. Underlying these must eventually be a framework of common spiritual values. But a practical device to keep men from destroying one another will give them time and opportunity to find mutual understanding, then gradually to accept one another in a relationship based on shared ethical and spiritual principles. This is the great hope of the atomic age.

What can we do practically to foster this kind of atomic age and to ward off one of climactic destruction?

First of all, there must be a broader public understanding that we are living in a new age. No effort

should be spared to bring to every person in this country and in the world a knowledge of the implications of man's use of atomic energy. During the year past we have seen how effective informed public opinion can be. The convictions many people have on these matters must be confirmed and they must be extended to larger numbers. Otherwise there is danger that the newly enacted legislation may be revised in ways contrary to the public interest. Also, there is danger, when the time comes for the Senate to act on a treaty to accept the international authority we have ourselves proposed, that we may falter and retreat once again to the false security of national self-sufficiency. We must seek to silence those occasional voices that suggest violence as a means to gain supremacy for our beliefs.

Finally, we must be prepared to seize every opportunity that increasing intercourse among the nations will offer to allay distrust and suspicion, and to promote understanding and friendship, so that what began only as an association against a common peril may little by little be transformed into a true world community.

"I believe it possible intellectually to accept and implement the faith that what man can conceive he can control."—Dr. Robert V. Seliger in *Contemporary Criminal Hygiene*.

Education for World Citizenship

*By Richard H. McFeely**

WE ARE living in a period of decisive events. The discovery of the means by which to release atomic energy, unprecedented speeds in the air, the marvels of television, the curative powers of penicillin, and the possibilities in the field of the plastics are but a few of the wonders of the present period. Turning in another direction, we note that Moscow, London, Washington, San Francisco, Paris, Bikini, and many other places have been the settings in recent weeks of other world-shaking events. Few of us realize the extent to which the world we knew will probably be changed as a result of what has recently taken place, and what is now going on.

Out of the great depression of the '30's and the catastrophic wars of the '40's have arisen many problems, the solutions of which are going to require of all of us greater imagination, vision, and courage than ever before. How are we going to meet adequately the problems of famine and malnutrition in the world? How are we going to rebuild the devastated areas? What will be the nature of the new political organizations that already are rising in England, France, China, Italy, and elsewhere? What will be the form

of the new economic controls that will be needed in our nation as well as in the world at large? What kind of world organization will evolve from the present United Nations organization? How can we bring about a more just, completely democratic society here at home? How can we control the use of atomic energy?—these are only a few of the complex, difficult questions that confront us.

Many of the old institutions seem to be crumbling. For many people, cherished ideals and familiar guideposts no longer serve satisfactorily. A new world order seems to be in the process of birth. There is little doubt that the future will test our courage and our faith, and will require us to possess a more definite sense of direction, a stronger pattern of religious and moral values, and a willingness to try new things.

In the light of these needs it is disturbing to see that many people throughout the world have lost hope, are cynical, disillusioned, fearful. Even in our own country, so little damaged by the war, and possessing such tremendous human and natural resources, such a dynamic inventive genius which has carried us so far along the path of material well-being, there are many who share these doubts and insecurities. Too

* Headmaster, Friends Central School, Overbrook, Philadelphia, Pa.

many people in our nation have been thinking primarily of the immediate and the practical; they have little or no vision. There are many who doubt that human life has any meaning or purpose. Ours appears to be a confused age in which men have created powers that they are no longer able to control. Millions throughout this nation and throughout the world stand uneasy and fearful, perplexed as to what to think, what to believe, what standards to uphold, what values to seek. By all this one is reminded of the inscription over the gates to Inferno as pictured by Dante: "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here."

What can be done about it? What must be done if we are to avoid a complete breakdown of our civilization? What is the role that educators must play if they are to bear their full share of preventing this breakdown? What can the schools do to help to bring about the kind of world we all desire, but which seems very remote at present?

There is no easy answer, no sure panacea for these questions. Some aspects of the problems emerge rather clearly, though, and are of importance to teachers as they study the situation in an effort to fulfill their responsibilities. Teachers cannot build a new social order. They can help to build the builders. They can and must help these "builders" to develop within themselves the necessary spiritual and ethical founda-

tions upon which the institutions of a peaceful world must rest.

The problems facing the United States divide themselves into three general categories. In each of these categories, the observant teacher finds clues to guide him in his immensely difficult tasks.

The first general problem area has to do with winning the peace. We won the war; we must now win the peace. We won the last war, but we lost the peace. This time there must be no repetition of the fumbling, selfish stupidity that cost us our victory after World War I. The securing of the peace, however, rests upon how successfully we are able to bring about a fundamental revision of attitudes on the part of large numbers of people. A good, peaceful world cannot be had without good, peace-loving people. There remains a large gap between our knowledge of what must be done and our present ability to do it. No greater task confronts educators today than to find new and better methods for teaching young people to accept their responsibilities and to build into their lives attitudes of tolerance, co-operation, brotherly love, and a desire to participate in building a better world.

The second general problem area may be stated as follows: We must preserve, refine, and extend democracy here at home. There exist many undemocratic practices and elements in our national life, and too

(Continued on page 34)

Japanese Reparations Policy

*By Arthur G. Coons **

CONSIDERABLE concern exists among Christians that the policy pursued by the United Nations in regard to reparations from Japan shall satisfy their devotion to both justice and mercy. Some Christians emphasize to such an extent the importance of forgiveness for those who have injured us that it amounts almost to a blindness toward the needs of those who have suffered from the heavy hand of Japanese aggression. They forget that, in a world of scarcity, those who have suffered most and who have the lesser responsibility for the holocaust that is ended have first priority upon food and necessities, and there is not enough at the moment to provide comfort for all. On the other hand, Christians in their devotion to justice would not care to support a policy so stringent in nature that it would be punitive. None would wish to be the instrument of vengeance, even if stern justice were the ideal. Neither a punitive vengeance nor an indiscriminating humanitarianism will suffice.

What is done must be in accord with the realities in the case. It must be concerned positively not only with the conditions under which the Japanese people may be expected to de-

velop their own political life and economic power so as to sustain a more democratic existence and international responsibility, but also with the conditions within which all of eastern Asia may be led into the paths of reconstruction and peace. No purely negative and indifferent attitude will satisfy our Christianity or our sense of political realism today.

Fundamental principles to a positive and constructive reparations policy are six: (1) that Japan's war-making industrial capacity shall be eliminated; (2) that the industrial power in war-making industries which is surplus to a reasonable minimum peacetime economy in Japan shall be removed as reparations; (3) that in such industrial and economic surgery Japan shall not be pauperized but shall be left with an economy which will function even though at a level of living for food and textiles below prewar experience; (4) that Japan shall be permitted access to foreign trade, initially under occupation control and in fields not affected by reparations, and ultimately under her own control to satisfy item 11 of the Potsdam declaration; (5) that the plant capital, equipment, and machinery, removed as reparations, shall be used to build up the economies of the other coun-

* President, Occidental College, Los Angeles, California; member of United States Reparations Mission to Japan, 1945-1946.

tries of eastern Asia, that is, of those countries entitled to reparations; and (6) that no recurring reparations out of annual product should be expected, dependence being placed on a "once for all" removal of plant equipment and production capital.

Such a program recognizes that Japan must be reconstructed away from militaristic economics and toward an economic base that will support peaceful and democratic policies. It involves a reversal of the historic Japanese co-prosperity sphere doctrine for eastern Asia in that reparations may serve to raise and to even up the level of industrialization throughout all the Far East. This would be done by transferring much of the Japanese heavy industry and warmaking industry, in which Japan had achieved a position of economic dominance over her neighbors by being the chief industrial consumer of their raw materials or as the controller of key processes. Such a program recognizes also that Japan must be allowed to meet the needs of her own people, and also to have sufficient export capacity, in the economic fields based on her own natural resources and in industries dependent on imported raw materials where labor constitutes the larger component of cost. Japan must export to cover whatever food imports are needed and allowed, and to obtain necessary raw materials upon which her economy may be allowed and expected to develop.

Japan's population in the four islands will be 78,000,000 when repatriation has been completed. Japan must be encouraged to expand her own productivity in agricultural production, principally foodstuffs. The reparations policy can assist in this by determining to leave in Japan, before reparations are taken from the chemical industry, enough capacity to produce ammonium sulphate or its equivalents as chemical fertilizers to use Japanese soils to a maximum. It has been estimated that 1,750,000 to 2,000,000 tons are necessary for this purpose.

Japan must have enough salt for her people and for peacetime industrial uses. Hence, facilities for its production should be immune to reparations, and machinery convertible to this purpose should be allowed to remain.

Large reparations are available in iron and steel capacity, in the chemical industries, in machine tools, machinery and the capacity to produce them, in shipbuilding facilities and equipment, in thermal power plants, in aluminum and magnesium production capacity, in synthetic rubber and synthetic petroleum capacity, in the equipment of arsenals, plants to produce explosives, and other industries.

The industries that should be immune to reparations, or from which only small amounts of capacity should be taken, include agricultural equipment, food-processing equipment, fisheries, forestry products,

mining equipment, metal smelting and refining (other than iron), plants manufacturing metal parts, light electrical machinery, consumer appliances, handicrafts, glass and glassware, pottery and ceramics, building materials (other than steel), woodwork, leather goods, automotive parts, paper and pulp and textile products (other than rayon).

In reparations procedure, Japan will probably lose all her foreign assets, whether publicly or privately owned, and in addition considerable quantities, if not all, of the gold, silver, platinum, other precious metals, and liquid foreign exchange assets such as foreign currency, found in Japan, may be taken to assist in covering the costs of the war

to the United States and other United Nations.

The United States, among all the nations, is most entitled to reparations yet likely will wish to take for itself very little. Most of what is available should be used to increase the economic and industrial strength of the countries of eastern Asia, and primary concern will attach to China, the Philippines, and the countries of southeastern Asia, with Korea as a new state receiving considerable aid.

Reparations thus administered as a "middle of the road" policy, eschewing either a punitive and unduly tough program or a sentimental, unrealistic, unduly soft approach may do much to contribute to the redirection of the Far East into the paths of peace.

The Battleship *Missouri* *

"The American Foreign Service Journal (July) gives a graphic illustration of the relative money values put upon peace and war instruments. It tells that while Congress was slashing the state's meager budget the battleship Missouri was sent to Turkey to return the body of a Turkish ambassador to Washington. This good will mission cost approximately \$600,000—the same amount as the annual salaries of the thirty-nine American ambassadors. The maintenance of the Missouri cost \$5,000,000 a year—enough to pay the salaries of all 850 American foreign service officers for a year. The battleship had cost \$100,000,000 to build—a sum equal to the total appropriation of the State Department for the fiscal year 1947."—Saul K. Padover

* From PM, August 8, 1946. Used with permission.

World Order

This month finds the Protestant denominations embarked upon a period of intensive study and action in the field of world order. The text that provides the incentive for this study and action is the word of Isaiah, its promise and exhortation: "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint." And we may well apply to this threefold demand upon Christian faith the summation of Paul in a different context: "And now abideth these three: mounting up, running, and walking. But the greatest of these is walking."

The World Order Movement throughout the Protestant Church has had its moments of high vision—Delaware and Cleveland, when the promised land of peace and righteousness stretched out before the "aspiring eye," when the Christian mind and the Christian conscience combined to produce a conception and a dream rooted, as we believed, in the mind of Christ, and yet not impossible of execution in the world of man. We have had our hours of coursing achievement. We ran, and were not weary. The San Francisco conference proved that the expressed concern of the Christian Church could find reflection in a charter for world order, which constituted a long step forward in man's search for peace. The speedy and almost unanimous ratification of that charter by the U. S. Senate represented another lap of a good race swiftly run.

But now we face the days and months, and, it may well be, the years, of slow plodding, distressingly difficult progress. We have now to walk, and not faint. We are faced with a task of making the United Nations work, and we come to this task with a disheartening lack of faith. As John Foster Dulles has said: "Unhappily, the fact is that at this critical juncture the people of the United States have no great faith which moves them. We are in no mood to seize upon the United Nations as an agency for accomplishing some great purpose in the world." This faithlessness records itself in two diametrically opposite directions. There is the faithlessness which says: "Man can never find peace, can never establish world order. The philosopher Hobbes was right when he described peace as 'a period of exhaustion which intervenes between successive wars.'" This is the philosophy of the rabbit which shivers and cringes and in paralysis awaits the fatal stroke of the weasel of war. This is the philosophy which makes a mockery alike of prayer and of Christian endeavor. It is the philosophy which spurns the dic-

Like These

tum of Justice Holmes, "The inevitable comes by means of individual effort." There is nothing to be said about this kind of faithlessness except to state it to be wholly unchristian.

But there is another and more insidious faithlessness which tempts the Christian as it explains: "The United Nations is a hopelessly inadequate instrument. It is an abortion—it was stillborn. We must immediately reach the goal of federation through the relinquishment of national sovereignty and the imposition of universal law." This is the faithlessness which cannot bear to walk—it insists upon running, even when running is manifestly impossible. When mountains appear hazardous to scale, it would immediately charter a plane and fly over. Of this solution, upon which this faithlessness would insist, Senator Vandenberg has pointed out: "The Soviets would not agree to a world state unless they ruled it. Neither would we, or those who believe in our type of democracy. Our hope is in evolution, and the United Nations is the only available starting point." This is simply another way of saying that in order to get where you want to be you must always start from where you now are. You must walk, and the essential ingredient in walking lies in making up your mind to take the first step first. What is this first step?

Mr. Dulles gives us the clue: "Obviously what is needed is the resumption of common tasks so valuable that fellowship becomes worth preserving. There must be spun a web so precious that no one wants to tear it. It must be made more advantageous to agree than to disagree. There are some who have not the spirit to face up to the task of organizing common effort for the common good. It seems a slow, hard way, and so it is." The first step in this "slow, hard way" is the education of members of our Church to an understanding of the potential values of the positive forces resident in the United Nations. It is most unfortunate that all the publicity and almost all the activity in the United Nations has, up to this time, centered upon the debates and the disagreements of the Security Council. Now the Security Council, by definition, is the place for the settling of disputes. There is a place in every well-ordered family for the family council which undertakes to resolve differences. But if the family never meets together, except at the times and upon the occasions when tempers are high and disagreements are acute, then no contribution is being made to the sense of fellowship, which alone can provide the atmosphere in which disputes may be objectively considered and settled. We must, therefore, elevate in the thinking of our

Church members the vital importance in the United Nations of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Scientific, Educational, and Cultural Organization, the Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the International Court of Justice, and the Food and Agriculture Organization. And we must create among our people the desire to influence our representatives to the United Nations to the end that these constructive values may be developed and implemented.

Such development and implementation would include the insistence that our Government adopt a forthright attitude upon such matters as the placing of Pacific islands under multilateral trusteeship, the co-operative endeavor to reduce armaments and abolish peacetime conscription, and the application, without fear or favor, of an international Bill of Rights for dependent and oppressed people.

The period for study and action in world order extends from World-wide Communion Sunday, October 6, to World Order Sunday, November 10. The materials used throughout these weeks are those provided by the Federal Council of Churches embodying the basic declarations enunciated in Columbus last March and revised throughout the summer and early fall to keep up with the march of current events. Every Presbyterian Church should be studying these materials and taking such action, based upon that study, as recommends itself to each local group. As we study and as we act, let us always remember that there is no quick and easy way to lasting peace. A universal panacea which will bring world order in its train is an illusion. We must "walk, and not faint." In an inspiring book of a few years ago a French aviator described the heroic struggle of a fellow aviator through the snow and ice of the towering Andes after the crash of his commercial plane. Finally he reached the first outpost of civilization in pain and exhaustion. His family and friends could not believe he had come through alive. In the hospital, when asked the secret of the indomitable will which had spurred him on in spite of serious injuries, bitter cold, and near starvation, he replied: "I kept saying to myself if my wife and children can think of me as still alive they believe I am on my feet and trying. What counts is to take a step—and then another step!"

"The everlasting God, Jehovah, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary; there is no searching of his understanding. He giveth power to the faint; and to him that hath no might he increaseth strength."—Isa. 40: 28, 29.

GANSE LITTLE,

*Minister, Broad Street Presbyterian Church,
Columbus, Ohio; chairman S.E.A. Counseling
Committee.*

FAO of UNO

On February 11, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations discussed the urgent food problems of the world and unanimously passed the following resolution:

*"The damage caused by war and the dislocation of agricultural production resulting from the shortage and dislocation of labor, the removal of draught animals, the shortage of fertilizers and other circumstances connected with the war have caused a serious fall in world production of wheat. In addition a large number of countries, including some of those which are normally the largest producers of grain, have suffered serious droughts and have therefore reaped abnormally small crops. The supply of rice is also so short as to threaten a famine in certain areas. There is, moreover, a serious risk of grain production in the coming season being insufficient to prevent continuing hunger; for these reasons the world is faced with conditions that may cause widespread suffering and death and consequently set back all plans for reconstruction."*¹

Officials of the State Department point out that four lines of action were recommended by Sir John Boyd Orr, Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization, to the FAO Conference on Urgent Food Problems held in Washington, May 20-27.

Problems of greatest importance which the Director General urged the representatives of twenty-two Governments attending the conference to consider were:

1. How to use to best advantage and distribute according to greatest need the 1946 harvest in order to cover the period until the next harvest.
2. How to get maximum production in the 1947 harvest.
3. How to keep Governments and peoples informed on the world food situation.
4. How to establish the machinery for the procurement and allocation of food for the duration of the emergency.

The following recommendations of the committees appointed to consider these four problems were unanimously adopted:

1. The present Combined Food Board (a temporary organization with the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada as members) should be replaced without delay by an International Emergency Food Council [now set up].
2. All steps should be taken, including the encouragement of conservation and expansion of food supplies, to make the best possible use of food produced during the 1946-1947 year.
3. FAO should immediately organize a research and information service in the fields of food, agriculture, and fisheries.
4. The Director General of FAO should submit to the next conference proposals for permanent international machinery to deal with long-term problems concerning the production, distribution, and consumption of food.²

¹ From *Report of the Special Meeting on Urgent Food Problems*, FAO, Washington, D. C. June, 1946.

² From *Monthly Information Sheet*, July, 1946, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

POLITICAL ACTION

7

Remember November 5. The General Assembly in May, 1946, recommended to the Churches for special study and action the following: (a) World Order Movement, (b) Racial and Cultural Relations, (c) The Liquor Problem, (d) Christian Political Action, (e) Church and Community, (f) Gambling.

Today, Christian Political Action is a most vital means of solving the social problems confronting us. Never has there been greater need for Church people to vote intelligently than on this coming November 5. Will they make their vote count?

Recently *The Pittsburgh Press* commented that two ministers had made complaints against racketeering in their part of Pittsburgh, but that such action by Church people generally doesn't "cut much ice" because it is politically ineffective. The article stated that a man interested in politics had checked the membership lists of socially important Allegheny County (Pennsylvania) Churches with the registration lists. "The Church with the best showing was only 50 per cent registered."

World Order Movement. Only eight important bills were passed by the 79th Congress. The atomic energy bill was passed so late that as we go to press the Atomic Energy Commission has not yet been appointed by the President. We manufacture atomic bombs even while we participate in a peace conference. (Note General Assembly's opposition to the manufacture of bombs.)

Racial and Cultural Relations. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, but the Fair Employment Practices Act is dead. Observe what has happened in Georgia and Mississippi. In November, California will vote on a referendum to decide whether or not persons of Japanese ancestry, even though American citizens, can own land. Almost every state in the union permits racial discrimination.

The Liquor Problem. Note the Pronouncements of the General Assembly on Alcoholic Beverages and consider how far we have to go to become effective as Church people in furtherance of law enforcement and passage of additional necessary legislation for control of this problem. This matter calls for state action.

Church and Community. What kind of people will you elect locally? Are they interested in helping to create a better community? Will their hands be tied because they are elected by the vote of "machine wards"?

Gambling. Every year we find more and more attempts on the part of state legislatures to pass laws permitting increased gambling in one form or another. Even in states where law is rigid, control is lax.

Church People to Be Effective Politically Must Vote. Political pressure as we now know it will continue to run this country as long as large blocs of people neglect the basic duty and privilege of voting. Today there are many ways to learn how to vote intelligently. Some suggestions follow:

1. Study September issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*; consider events as reported in the press and radio regarding state and Federal political action, and compare the record with the pronouncements on social issues of our General Assembly.

2. Obtain a copy of *Congressional Voting Record* of your Senators and Congressmen in 1945-1946 from your minister or from any Presbyterian Book Store.

3. Order the *Voting Record on Conscription* by Congress since 1940 from any Presbyterian Book Store.

4. Secure literature from your local League of Women Voters and other "better government" groups.

5. *Vote* and urge other Church people to vote on November 5.

Sanctuary*

For a Service of Dedication

Dedication:

Leader: To the faithful pursuit of our daily tasks; to the exercise of our responsibilities as citizens; to the establishment and preservation of homes full of love and mutual regard; to the provision of righteous and peaceful communities wherein good will dwells for every member;

People: We dedicate ourselves, O Lord.

Leader: To the daily practice of the Christian life; to a new concern for those who live and die without Christ; to a love for Christ and the things that belong to his Church; to a fresh dedication to the world-wide missionary cause; to a more perfect dependence upon the will and love of God;

People: We commit ourselves, good Lord.

Leader: To the task of purifying and preparing our nation for its international responsibility in this hour; to the support of our national leaders in their pursuit of a just and durable peace; to the cherishing and preserving of our dearly bought liberties for which so many have suffered and died; to the faithful preaching and teaching of the Lord our God;

People: We offer ourselves, Almighty Father.

Leader: To the search for and support of ways and plans for the healing of strife between the nations; to the struggle for justice and good will both at home and abroad; to the alleviation of hatred and distrust and suffering among the peoples of the world; to the establishment of the Kingdom of God and the exaltation of Christ as King of Kings and Lord of Lords;

People: We dedicate ourselves, O Lord, by thy grace and with thy help.

In Unison: Be pleased, O Lord, to hear these our high resolves; and by the mercies of Christ help us to present ourselves as living sacrifices, consecrated and acceptable unto thee. Lord, establish thou the work of our hands. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hymn: "Through the Night of Doubt and Sorrow."

Scripture: I Corinthians, ch. 13.

Litany:

Remember, O Lord, the peoples of the world divided into many nations and tongues; deliver us from every evil which obstructs thy saving purpose; and fulfill thy promises of old to establish thy Kingdom of peace.

From the curse of war and all that begets it;
O Lord, deliver us.

From believing and bearing false witness against other nations;
O Lord, deliver us.

* From material suggested by the Commission on Worship of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

From narrow loyalties and selfish isolation;
O Lord, deliver us.

From fear and distrust of other nations, from all false pride, vainglory, and self-conceit;
O Lord, deliver us.

From the lust of the mighty for power and riches that drives peaceful peoples to violence;
O Lord, deliver us.

From putting our trust in the weapons of war, and from want of faith in the power of justice and good will;
O Lord, deliver us.

From every thought, word, and deed which divides the human family and separates us from the perfect realization of thy love;
O Lord, deliver us.

Eternal Father, who showest thy people the way in which they should go, turn our feet from the city of destruction toward the city of God, and redirect our desires and labors in accordance with thy will, that we may achieve the new world for which thy Son was content to die, even Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

That nations may vie with one another in the service of man and not in seeking dominion;
Father, we pray thee.

That science may be the constant handmaid of life and never the henchman of death;
Father, we pray thee.

That the treasure now spent on the engines of war may be used for the arts of peace;
Father, we pray thee.

That thy people may endure hardness as good soldiers of thy Son Jesus Christ, and overcome the world by the power of faith;
Father, we pray thee.

That we may love not only our country, but also the whole family of nations;
Father, we pray thee.

That ancient enmities may pass away, and that thou wilt make all things new;
Father, we pray thee.

O Christ, at whose word the wind and waves were still, rebuke, we pray thee, the violence of men, and usher in the day of brotherhood, that we may truly serve thee; who with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and worketh for us unceasingly, now and forever. Amen.

Benediction:

Eternal God, in whose perfect Kingdom no sword is drawn but the sword of righteousness, and no strength known but the strength of love, so guide and inspire, we pray thee, the work of all who seek thy Kingdom, that the nations may find their security, not in force of arms, but in that perfect love which casts out fear, and in that fellowship revealed to us by thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Christian Mission for World Order

(Continued from page 4)

areas as may be detached from Japan, including the areas heretofore held by Japan under League of Nations mandate. Such a commitment at an early date was urged by Church leaders at Columbus.

The prospective termination of UNRRA set another issue of concern to Christians. As long as peoples impoverished by the war confront conditions of famine or near-famine, the more privileged nations have an obligation to help. Important as Church relief efforts are, the task is still too vast for private efforts. A governmental and, preferably, an international approach is required. The Federal Council has urged in *The Churches and World Order* that "permanent machinery be established under the Economic and Social Council to help meet world needs for emergency relief, when UNRRA comes to an end."

The task of rehabilitation cannot in the Christian view be confined to the victor nations. There is an obligation to enable the former enemy states to rebuild a peaceful economic life. As John Foster Dulles has said, "We cannot expect the German and Japanese people to become peace-loving people unless we give them decent living conditions." The Columbus message stated that "the Churches of Christ cannot condone the punishment of whole peoples." The plans for economic co-operation should apply to all peoples, if they are to bring reconciliation and creative peace.

The race in armaments poses a further crucial international problem, especially in view of the development of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. The United States has taken a step toward reversing its past policy by presenting a constructive plan for international control. The great-power deadlock has, at the time of writing, prevented agreement on this

plan or a modification of it. The proceedings of the Atomic Energy Commission are likely to be long and arduous, requiring much tact and patience, as well as firmness. These negotiations might well be supplemented by a still broader approach to the control of armaments. The Federal Council urged at Columbus that "the representatives of the United States in the U.N. should immediately seek agreement on a comprehensive plan for the progressive reduction of military establishments throughout the world, for the universal abolition of peacetime conscription" as well as "for the outlawry and effective control of weapons of mass destruction."

These are some of the practical concerns that Christian leaders have set forth. In so doing they have recognized the great importance of the world-wide Christian fellowship "as present reality and future promise." In working to strengthen the Christian community, Church people make possible a greater concerted Christian influence on world affairs. Church leaders also are working to reinforce the co-operative effort of the Churches in the field of world order. In August, a special international conference was held at Cambridge, England, to organize a Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, under the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. This commission is to carry on internationally activities such as those carried on by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace in America.

The new commission is of great potential significance. But its charter recognizes that its success will depend upon the local Churches!

"Witness that is to be truly ecumenical must spring from local conviction and determination. Unless the Churches as a whole reinforce this new endeavor by acceptance of local responsibility, the new commission will completely fail of its great purpose.

The Workshop

Care and Share.

The following material was prepared by Mrs. W. H. Gennep, Social Education and Action secretary for Portland Presbyterial and used in mimeographed form by the Social Education and Action Synodical Society of Oregon. It has now been revised by the staff of SOCIAL PROGRESS and is presented as a guide to help in the planning of relief work for the war-devastated areas.

If You Know, You Care

"10,000 people a month are starving to death in Warsaw."—*The Christian Century*.

"Children by millions are in imminent danger of starving and freezing as winter comes to Europe, unless immediate aid comes from countries which have clothing, food, vitamins, and medicines."—*Report of five international relief organizations.*

Victims of Hitler's concentration camps received a starvation diet of 1,500 calories per person per day.

People in Vienna today have 760 calories a day. People in the Tyrol have 850.

Average U. S. consumption per person per day is 3,200 calories.

The minimum to sustain life is 2,000 calories daily.

If You Care, You Share: You Can:

1. **Give to our Church Restoration Fund.** The Presbyterian Church has set a fund of \$27,000,000. Each group in your Church needs your help, so that our Church can help others. The total of seventeen national denominational Restoration Funds is \$112,725,000—or the price of one 45,000-ton battleship.

2. **Send clothing and bedding and shoes.** Also articles listed below (all in usable condition).

Canned foods	Cloth scraps	Needles
Dried foods	Carpenter's tools	Thread
Children's books	Silverware	Buttons
Toys, games, dolls	Candles	Scissors
All kitchen ware	Felt hats	Galoshes
Cotton feed bags	Bar soap	All linens

Money—\$1.00 will buy 16 lbs. of a special relief cereal containing ground wheat, oats, and soybean grits. 6¼ cents will feed one hungry child for one day.

Send prepaid to Church World Service Centers as follows:

108 Gold Street
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

236 Beacon Street
Boston 16, Mass.

Modesto,
California

1735 S. Vandeventer Ave.
St. Louis, Missouri

2247 East Marginal Way
Seattle, Washington

101 Pine Street
Dayton, Ohio

7110 Compton Avenue
Los Angeles, Calif.

New Windsor,
Maryland

3. **Or send boxes of warm clothing for men and women, as well as children,** to the American Friends Service Committee Centers as follows:

20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

189 West Madison Street
Chicago 2, Ill.

426 N. Raymond Avenue
Pasadena 3, Calif.

1830 Sutter Street
San Francisco 15, Calif.

4. **Co-operate with CARE** (Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe), a nonprofit organization approved by the President's War Relief Control Board, organized by twenty-four voluntary agencies doing relief work. Ten of the twenty-four agencies are under religious auspices. The Presbyterian Church is one of these. CARE is delivering large food packages for \$15 per unit; the contents are Army rations already abroad. Individuals, groups, and organizations may order "standard food packages" for delivery to designated relatives, friends, groups, and organizations in certain European countries. Otherwise CARE will select a needy individual to receive the package. To buy a package you do these three things:

(a) Get a food remittance application blank—fill in your name and address and that of beneficiary. Obtain from CARE, 50 Broad St., New York 4, N. Y.

(b) Buy a cashier's check at any bank; or buy a money order; or write your own check.

(c) Mail both to CARE, 50 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y. CARE does the rest.

5. **Affect public opinion.** Express yourself. Write your Senators and Congressmen, and also other Government officials, as listed below, making it plain that you are willing to be rationed and that you demand that hungry people be fed.

Hon. Tom Connally, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Sol Bloom, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton Anderson, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Secretary of War, Robert P. Patterson, War Department, Washington, D. C.

Particularly ask them to:

(a) Work for full co-operation of the United States in all work of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

(b) Continue to provide money for UNRRA so it will maintain operations for care of displaced persons until the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations can take over.

(c) Allot funds to UNRRA for social welfare and health until the Economic and Social Council of United Nations can make full provisions to carry on this work.

(d) Make certain that the United States meets its goal for food and materials as originally agreed upon.

6. **Adopt a child.** The Save the Children Federation lists the most needy children in an area and asks groups, families, or individuals to sponsor them. It costs \$8.00 a month to support a child. A biography and a picture are supplied the sponsor. Write to:

Save the Children Federation
1 Madison Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

7. Collect money for purchase of relief supplies on a large scale. Foods can, of course, be bought cheaper in large quantities so your money will go farther if you are able to buy this way. Here are some examples:

Dried skim milk costs	\$13.50 per 100 lbs.
Dried whole milk costs	46.00 per 100 lbs.
Dehydrated soups cost	3.50 per case
Canned meat costs	7.40 per case

Other items run proportionately. We suggest that you try to purchase regularly one of these units. Send money to:

Church World Service Centers
(See addresses previously listed)

8. Sponsor a sacrificial meal. We have been so used to abundance in our country, it might be a time of soul-searching to take part in a meal that is on the same standard as many people in Europe and Asia are having.

Philippines—Breakfast: one small dish rice, coffee with little sugar, one piece canned sardine or two spoonfuls canned meat. Lunch: one small dish rice, one piece of papaya. Dinner: one small dish rice, canned fish or meat, fruit, as above.

Chinese Orphanage—Midmorning: boiled egg or egg flakes in oats. Lunch: rice, tomato, green vegetable, orange or apple. Evening: soybean milk.

Belgium—Breakfast: one slice bread, one cup coffee made of chestnuts. Lunch: one cup vegetable soup, two potatoes, three ounces vegetables, one slice bread. Dinner: one cup vegetable soup, one half ounce meat, two ounces vegetable, one slice bread.

Poland—Breakfast: ersatz tea or coffee, one slice bread. Dinner: vegetable, barley, or potato soup, one slice bread. Supper: one slice of bread or one cup ersatz tea or coffee, potato soup or cereal.

You might have your sacrificial meal instead of your regular monthly luncheon and send the money saved in that way to buy food in quantity as mentioned above.

9. Purchase a heifer. It will be shipped to countries in which most of the livestock has died during the war. Bred heifers are given to hospitals, orphanages, and families who can provide food for the animals. Think of the number of glasses of milk one heifer can provide in one year, and how many glasses she and her progeny will provide in ten years. \$125 will buy a heifer. Write to:

Heifer Project Committee
New Windsor, Maryland
(Collection farms are located throughout the U. S.)

10. Purchase seeds. These seeds in quantity will be shipped to Europe in time for spring planting. Details of cost and procedure can be had from:

Church World Service Centers
(See addresses previously listed)

11. All do something! In the first half of 1946 the Church people of the United States donated for shipment abroad 2,019,350 pounds of relief clothing valued at about two million dollars, and food valued at \$155,000. Compare this report with these figures. The total Church membership in the United States is 72,492,669 and there are over two million Presbyterians alone.

Asia's Broken Rice Bowl

(Continued from page 11)

came, the customary protective measures were not applied. Just where the responsibility lies is disputed.

What is incontrovertible is that enormous areas of delta lands were flooded to such a degree that much of the rice crop to be harvested last November-December was destroyed. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that a new crop was put into the ground before the 1946 monsoon.

It is south Indo-China that normally produces a surplus of rice for export. However, because of turbulent conditions in the countryside around Saïgon, rice was coming into the port in a mere trickle last December. It seems entirely improbable that any considerable quantity of rice will be available for export to deficit countries during the current year—over and above whatever staple can be shipped by water from Saïgon to stave off starvation in Tonkin.

Siam: River Craft; Ocean Shipping

The quantity of rice exported by Siam last fall after its liberation was a mere fraction of peacetime shipments. In a good year, Bangkok's godowns and rice mills should load an average of about 115,000 tons a month for export shipment.

Siam's rice farms and the rice mills of Bangkok suffered no physical damage during the years of Japanese occupation, yet the efforts of the invaders to concentrate the country's man power on war activities (for example, the construction of the strategic railroad across Siam and Malaya to the Burma frontier) badly dislocated rice production.

For some months prior to the Japanese surrender, exports from Bangkok were impossible because of Allied control of the China seas. Naturally, harvested rice glutted the upcountry godowns. Furthermore, Chinese middlemen ceased to buy

rice from the peasants when they knew that the rice mills in Bangkok could not take it off their hands. Hence there was considerable reduction in the acreage of rice put into the ground.

Practically all the export rice in Siam came from upcountry in thousands of small barges and other river craft. This industry is badly disorganized because these boats were worn out through heavy use for military purposes. Moreover, for lack of dredging during the war years, the mouth of the Menam River below Bangkok was blocked by a sand bar. All but shallow-draft ocean-going steamers must load miles below the city wharves. The need for lightering rice down the river in barges slows down loading.

In any case, even though rice shipment from the interior to Bangkok could be stepped up, exports could hardly attain anything like the normal rate because of the shortage of ocean shipping. Everywhere one goes in southeast Asia one hears the same plaint: no ships.

But the controlling factor in the revival of the Siamese rice production may prove to be the lack of consumer goods for which the farmer can exchange his rice. Without the simple commodities he needs for his family and himself, the small peasant lacks incentive to grow rice. Meanwhile, the outlook is bleak for a resumption of imports of consumer goods into Siam. Britain is in no position to export cotton goods. Although India might spare some, the necessary measures could hardly be taken in time. Speedy action by our own country in shipping goods needed by Siam might prevent the immediate calamity from continuing into 1947.

Burma: Invasion; Destruction

Burma, unlike Indo-China and Siam, was a battlefield almost from the beginning to the end of the war in Asia, and the destruction of equipment indispensable to

the country's rice industry was severe. To begin with, as in Siam and Indo-China, the bulk of Burma's rice crop moves from interior points to the ports by water. Much of the fleet of river barges and other small craft was destroyed or badly damaged in the initial Japanese advance and the final Allied push to victory.

Early in the war, many of the British and Indian owners of rice mills in Akyab, Moulmein, Bassein, and Rangoon deliberately sabotaged their plants to prevent the invading Japanese from making use of them. In the countryside, to save themselves, thousands of the rice-growing peasants abandoned their farms to take refuge in the nearest villages and towns. Taking into account the fact that certain of the upland regions have always depended on rice from the delta to eke out their own scanty crops, all this means that there may be barely sufficient rice to feed the population of Burma itself.

As to exports, the chief hope of the authorities last winter rested on their ability to gather up whatever was left of previous crops in areas from which it had been impossible to move rice during the Japanese occupation. The resulting decline in supplies from Burma has been catastrophic to India itself, where the shortage is acute in Bengal and Madras Presidencies, Ceylon, and other rice-growing areas. There, also, rice growing has been dislocated by the war. Hence the desperate cries for help—such as an appeal from India for 4,000,000 tons of rice or wheat reported in the press in early March.

The Challenge of Monsoon Asia

The breakdown in the rice economy should not be seized upon as an occasion for recrimination—though it may raise the question why the great powers that successfully planned the purely military strategy of World War II so signally failed

to project their foresight into the first years of peace.

There is no miracle in sight that can prevent widespread starvation in southeast Asia. Rice, in sufficient quantities to meet the minimum needs of the world's rice eaters, cannot be supplied until new crops can be planted and harvested—a matter of many months. But the disorganization of the rice-trade mechanism all the way from Ceylon around to the Yangtze River delta is too overwhelming to justify optimism that the world rice situation can be remedied in the immediate future.

Nevertheless, the United Nations must without delay tackle the task of rehabilitating the rice economy on which so many human lives and fortunes depend. That task will be made more difficult because of the mutual impact of economic and political factors. To deal with the latter calls for social insight and intellectual courage. The rice shortage will inevitably stimulate political agitation. Political agitation can hardly fail to have an adverse effect on rice production.

Many impressions gathered at various points in my trip enter into one underlying impression: that the colonial era in Asia which began some two hundred years ago is nearing its end. The dreams of the Japanese imperialists crashed; but the yellow and brown races are demanding that they be yielded a place on the stage of history hitherto so exclusively held by the white race. Only some new form of partnership between the politically experienced nations of the Occident and the politically inexperienced nations taking form in the Orient can prevent worldwide catastrophe.

The re-establishment of the rice economy of monsoon Asia by international effort provides the stage for Americans to demonstrate our good will and enterprise—and with it the test of sincerity in such a partnership.

The Christian and Race

During this coming year thousands of American Protestants will be engaged in the study of the Christian and race, the study theme for 1946-1947 adopted by the Missionary Education Movement. This provides an opportunity in every Church for those interested in missions to join with those concerned about social action to join forces in a period of intensive study. The materials provided cover all age groups, and some of them are unusually good.—Willis Lamott, Director, Department of Missionary Education, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

Portrait of a Pilgrim: A Search for the Christian Way in Race Relations, by Buell G. Gallagher, is recommended for basic study and reading. Dr. Gallagher is well known as the former president of Talladega University and as professor of Christian ethics at the Pacific School of Religion. The book is the account of how Rev. Timothy Dwight O'Hara, a typical small city pastor, traveled over the country to prove statements made in a race relations sermon. Articles, letters, and speeches are assembled to make a highly readable book, touching every aspect of the subject of race relations. (Paper, 60 cents.)

Accompanying the Gallagher book is the 25-cent *Discussion and Program Suggestions for Adults*, prepared by Horace W. Williams, of the Methodist Board of Christian Education, resident in Nashville. The book contains a summary of a number of projects used in the South and elsewhere. *A Presbyterian Forum on Race* (10 cents) has been prepared for Church groups seek-

ing guidance for a series of four or five discussion forums on the subject.

Some of the materials indicated for young people are adaptable also for adults. Among these are: *Seeking to Be Christian in Race Relations*, by the Negro leader Dr. Benjamin E. Mays (25 cents); and *Sense and Nonsense About Race*, a 25-cent illustrated pamphlet by the anthropologist, Ethel J. Alpenfels. *Know—Then Act* (25 cents), by Margaret C. McCulloch, interprets race relations and describes types of effective youth action.

There are corresponding materials for younger age groups and some very attractive supplementary aids, such as a decorative map on "Americans of Negro Origin," and another, "Makers of the U.S.A." (25 cents each), both designed by Louise E. Jefferson, the talented Negro artist of the Missionary Education Movement.

A complete list of the materials available is contained in *Tools for Missionary Education*, a free leaflet issued by the Department of Missionary Education, 609 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.

The Washington Office of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and Cooperating Bodies, Room 316, Woodward Building, 15th and H Streets, Washington 5, D. C., reports as follows:

The authorities report that the United States is not quite meeting its goal of 6,000,000 tons of wheat for export, mainly for relief, as of June 30, 1946. Progress has been made in setting up the new International Emergency Food Council, to succeed the old Combined Food Board. Twenty nations are members of the new council. It will allocate the world's surplus food supplies. All the nations producing food for export are represented except the Argentine and the Soviet Union.

Education for World Citizenship

(Continued from page 16)

many people who are indifferent to these threats to our democracy. There are too many people who are not permitted to share very fully in the values and benefits of democracy as it is practiced in the United States.

Politically this means that we must clean up our politics, abolish the poll tax, put an end to the tyranny of our political machines, stimulate people to vote and to vote intelligently rather than upon the basis of tradition and emotion. We must arouse an informed citizenry to the danger that exists when so many people are indifferent to their prerogatives as citizens of a democracy.

Economically, we must bring democracy into industry and business. We need an Economic Bill of Rights. We must abolish autocracy in management and labor and bring about a more intelligent, understanding co-operation between these two groups. Monopolistic practices must be curtailed; the growing tendency toward the centralization of wealth and power in the hands of a few should be curbed. A thorough study of our economic institutions and practices must be made in order to bring about other needed revisions and reforms.

Socially, we must put an end to discriminatory practices wherever they exist, and for whatever reason they may have arisen. The sacredness of human personality and its right to conditions conducive to growth, which is the keystone of the democratic way of life, must more thoroughly permeate our national life than is true today.

In this problem area as in the first, there is no easy answer, no available blueprint, no ism, no quick method for bringing about these ends. It will require of all adults, too many of whom merely rearrange their prejudices when they "think" about these problems, some

serious study and careful thought. This will be especially true of teachers if they are to exert the leadership and the influence upon the youth of the nation in a way that will prepare them for the world as it now exists and as it might be.

The third great problem area has to do with world government. We must support by intelligently and morally guided action the United Nations organization or some other form of world government. Never again must we permit a return to the international anarchy that results from nations attempting to live under unrestrained national sovereignty. Physically and in our economic interdependence we are "one world." Politically, culturally, and psychologically, we are still widely divided. Teachers have a responsibility to do all within their power to help to bring about "one world" in the minds of their pupils.

Our task as educators, then, is to equip our children with a moral compass, which will enable them to choose wisely and to act intelligently. We must help the pupils to form right attitudes toward life, and to give them what so many in the world today lack: clear values and definite standards. Schools have stressed the acquisition of knowledge and the development of skills to the exclusion of other values. Knowledge is important, still more so is the power to use it; but most important of all is what a man believes, what things he thinks are good, what he considers bad, whether he has clear values and standards and is prepared to live by them. We must restore to education a "vitamin," deficient in both education and society—a religion, a philosophy of living, a definite ideal to guide, discipline, and dominate the lives of individuals.

This will not be an easy task. New materials, new methods, new experiences must be found which will more effectively conduce toward these ends than has been true in the past. It is the duty of the

teachers and administrators, working with the home and the Church, to develop a positive, vigorous program to meet the needs of the pupils and to guide their growth toward these all-important ends.

Christian living has been wrongly interpreted as something for which one could be trained by a superficial acquaintance with facts, by sentimental responses, by familiarity with slogans, and by formal procedures and ritualistic practices. The schools and the Churches have tended to rely too exclusively on words alone to modify or develop attitudes and to create loyalties to ideals. Teachers and Church workers have too often talked, preached, given information, cited platitudes, verbalized in glittering generalities, but in most cases these methods have failed to accomplish what was desired. We have failed to realize that these methods generally do not develop courageous convictions, or lead to a lasting commitment to a way of life. They may help, but in and of themselves they are not enough. What is so often overlooked is that belief in an ideal differs fundamentally from belief about an ideal. Beliefs about ideals can be developed by imparting facts or reasonable hypotheses. Beliefs in ideals and loyalties to them can be cultivated only by investing such ideals with interest or value to the learner through proper associations. Some sort of satisfaction must be attached to the desired attitudes whenever they are expressed. In other words, we are educated for action through action. We learn what we live. Therefore, the daily experiences of the pupils in their homes, in schools, and in the larger community must be in accordance with Christian principles, and must be found satisfying if our children develop ideals and convictions, and become dedicated to the Christian-democratic way of life. Herein lies a tremendous challenge to parents, to teachers, to Church workers, and to all who have an interest in the youth of the

nation and in the direction in which they are growing.

Each teacher must develop his own program of educational experiences to meet the needs of his particular group and to meet local conditions. Let it be borne in mind that there is no more important factor in educating for Christian living than the teacher's own ideals, attitudes, convictions, and activities. The student must "see" the teacher's faith and beliefs in action.

Creative teachers have tried some new methods that seem to offer considerable hope in their quest for more effective means by which to stimulate the pupils' growth toward loyalty to basic Christian-democratic values. Among these might be mentioned both the week end and the summer work camps in which young people give of their time and energies to work with other people who need help; dramatics; the reading of carefully selected biographies; and attempts to relate religion to vocational choices; and the like. These represent only a small beginning on the most important problem American education faces as it looks to the future.

It is later than most adults think. The sands of time are flowing rapidly. Momentous decisions are being made. Mankind is at a crossroads. Can men and released atomic energy continue to exist together on this planet? The answer has been given to educators in the preamble to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in which the following idea is recorded: "Since wars begin in the minds of men it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

American education faces the future. Educators, to attain success, must have the intelligent support of adults, must secure competent, dedicated teachers, and must have the co-operation of other agencies in the community, especially the homes and Churches.

About Books

Unwritten Treaty, by James P. Warburg. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.00.

As Mr. Warburg forcefully says, "If there is to be lasting peace there must eventually be international agreement to outlaw all branches of modern warfare." We must not repeat the mistake that was made at the close of World War I, of imagining that peace can be achieved by military and naval disarmament alone. Just as psychological attack precedes actual military conflict, so must the elimination of psychological attack be the first step toward guaranteeing the peace.

Actually, psychological warfare in its simplest forms is as old as the history of war. As the author points out, it consists of two basic elements: the threat, or appeal to fear; and the bribe, or appeal to cupidity. The history of the early days of the conflict shows masterful use of these techniques by the Germans. Sometimes the threat was real, as when Germany threatened to invade Poland, but at other times it was a bluff, as when Hitler moved into the Rhineland. As Mr. Warburg points out, the bribe too may be real or pretended. For example, Hungary actually received a piece of Transilvania as a reward for joining the Axis but the Italians did not get Corsica, although they were promised it.

These and other incidents illustrate the statement that although Nazi Germany did not invent psychological warfare, she certainly perfected it. For example, all German newspapers and publishing houses were taken over by the Nazi party or by prominent officials. The Government owned a national radio monopoly, and her propaganda ministry rigidly controlled the motion-picture industry.

Aside from some of our top leaders, such as General Eisenhower and General Mac-

Arthur, Americans seemed to be rather reluctant to follow the lead of Russia and Great Britain in engaging in psychological warfare during World War II. According to Mr. Warburg, Congress developed a sudden passion for "the truth" and found it difficult to discriminate between propaganda and information. Furthermore, our traditional belief in private enterprise made it very difficult for us to control the flow of information because we did not have Government ownership of the radio and press, nor did we have Government licensure and control of those agencies as did many of the European powers.

Consequently the early efforts of our own Government at psychological warfare were confused and fumbling. It was not until June, 1942, that the President created the Office of War Information. Elmer Davis was appointed director and Mr. Warburg was sent to London to organize offices there and to work in co-operation with the Allied Military Command and the British propaganda agencies.

Out of that experience the author has some concrete suggestions to make concerning the control of this new weapon in the future. He envisions a treaty, as yet unwritten, that will seek to preserve our freedom of information by safeguarding our freedom of communication and will also control the propaganda activities of the signatory nations. He further suggests the creation of a Department of Information of equal rank with the Departments of State, War, Navy, and so forth, and making the head of that department a member of the President's Cabinet.

This book is interestingly written and will hold the attention of anyone concerned with understanding the total picture of modern warfare. It reminds us that while we are familiar with the weapons used in psychological warfare,

such as broadcasts, posters, leaflets, books, and pictures, we have not understood how they fitted into the total program of military effort. We are vividly shown how these helped to win the war and in many instances saved the lives of our men.

FRANK LESLIE REARICK

Ultimatum for Man, by Peggy Pond Church. James Ladd Delkin, Stanford University, California. \$1.50.

In her book of poems, *Ultimatum for Man*, Peggy Pond Church cries out, not so much because of what is happening in the world, but because of what has been happening to the soul of man. Seeing a newsreel that flashed a picture of a dead soldier cornered in a crumbled doorway, she writes:

"His face was not marred. His face was frozen in hatred. . . .

It was a boy's face, young and mobile, implacably molded in anger.

It was the face of a creature possessed and gone savage.

And I wept, I wept for the pure and delicate spirit slowly distilled through long ages."

Yet in these verses there is also the challenge for man to rise from his self-destruction to fulfill his true destiny. He has within him both the seeds of life as well as of destruction, and the poems express a feeling of great urgency in the ultimatum with which man is confronted.

"We cannot escape this any longer.

We cannot continue to choose between good and evil

(the good for ourselves, the evil for our neighbors;)."

The poems in this brief volume (an artistic job of printing, with its Indian-design decorations) range from deepest anxiety for the crisis confronting man to a poem of delightful imagery such as "Horses in the Moonlight":

*silver in their long manes, silver in their bright tails,

their hooves as brittle as glass ringing on the light snow."

Peggy Pond Church shows deep insight in discussing man's own plight and the final inevitable decisions now confronting him in that she recognizes that he cannot pull himself out by his own boot straps, so in a little poem called "Prophecy" she sees the mother, Mary, holding "God's little son," who answers Mary's question concerning when man's wars shall be done by saying:

"when no man shall wound another for fear of wounding me."

One of the best poems in this collection is "The Nuclear Physicists," in which the author expresses her ultimate plea:

"Now we, in our wilderness, must reject the last temptation:

the kingdoms of earth and all the power and the glory,

and bow before the Lord our God, and serve Him

whose still small voice, after the wind, the earthquake,

the vision of fire, still speaks to those who listen

and will the world's good."

MARGARET G. HUMMEL

Community Organization for Social Welfare, by Wayne McMillen. University of Chicago Press. \$4.75.

Though designed as a textbook for the training of social workers, this volume is a storehouse of information on community problems and techniques for attacking them and, as such, is of wider interest. The author is a professor in the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, and a staff executive of the Chicago Community Chest.

The author sees the state assuming responsibility for "the maintenance and enforcement of a minimum standard of life" and voluntary (private) agencies focusing their attention on "pioneer endeavors to raise ever higher and higher the standard

of what human conduct can be made to be."

The erection and maintenance of institutions requiring heavy investments in brick and mortar had better be relegated to the state. Private hospitals "must develop ways and means to finance themselves out of income." Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s had better "sell their buildings for second-class hotels" rather than see them foreclosed by the mortgage holders. Private old folks homes need not vanish because they can be nearly, if not entirely, self-supporting. In general, private agencies had better plan to serve cross sections of the whole population rather than serve the poor and needy, as they traditionally have done.

Implicit in the author's thinking is the belief that giving, already at a low level, will decline still further as "big gifts" vanish. Even in wartime, "total contributions for all nongovernmental relief and welfare were approximately a little over three tenths of one per cent of the total of all individual incomes." What an index this gives us of the need for stewardship education!

While the book is ponderous, not designed for wide consumption, it is to be hoped that Church people will profit from many of its implications. If community organization is coming, it behooves Christians to help to steer it.

HARRISON M. SAYRE

Kagawa, by William Axling. Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

Axling's *Kagawa*—vintage 1946—is ten twelfths the same as his *Kagawa* of 1934.

For us who share Axling's enthusiastic admiration, his book is a quick and easily read picturing of how one Christian "identifies" himself with a suffering humanity, most of it from the unfavored areas—a people suggesting those common folk who heard our Master gladly.

Since "truth becomes effective only when wedded to suffering," the book takes

on real value as it presents a man whose consistent and courageous witnessing has brought upon himself the marks of the Master. The plight of the exploited must be dramatized before the privileged people will act, and I know of no one who has done it so well as Kagawa. Axling's *Kagawa* seems to be the selfsame flesh and blood hero we met in our Kingdom of God Fellowship in Chicago in 1936. It was my good fortune to be conducting him to several Neighborhood Houses. That day, and in three or four early-morning worship hours, I marked his loyalty to his homeland. But his criticism of society's sins fell upon Japan and the United States alike.

I like the implications in a tiny quotation: "Nature is fascinating, but the children of the slums also abound in interest. I will not say that nature surpasses them in attractiveness." This was spoken by the man who left the comfort of seminary halls, on a Christmas Eve, and trundled his books down to a six-by-six-by-six-foot cubicle in the Shinkawa slum. I know of no other Christian servant who so faithfully follows our Master's injunction to "love your neighbor."

Mr. Axling, in his portrayal of Kagawa in 1934 and in the *Kagawa* publication of 1946, reveals himself as a writer envisioned to accept Drinkwater's dictum:

"When the high heart we magnify
And the sure vision celebrate,
And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great."

The strikingly new note in the later volume is the author's portrayal of his own as well as Kagawa's valid reactions to indiscriminate atomic bombing.

This small volume offers a large return for the conscientious person who wishes to acquire some biographical buttressing of his own efforts in the field of Christian social action.

ROY C. LINBERG

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* May be obtained only from Division of Social Education and Action.

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HARPER & BROTHERS

Dr. Poling Takes Over

The November issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS goes to press subsequent to the arrival of Dr. Paul Newton Poling to take over the reins of Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action as well as the duties of Editor of SOCIAL PROGRESS. Dr. Poling brings to this broad field of social and educational problems a wealth of experience and leadership obtained during his twelve years as minister in the First Presbyterian Churches of Belmar and Bound Brook, New Jersey, and eight years in El Paso, Texas. He leaves behind him in El Paso a Church of approximately 13,000 communicant members and a strong Sunday Church School.

Dr. Poling, concurrently with his ministerial duties, has consistently carried over into the civic affairs of the community the influence of religious leadership. He has served as Dean and Vesper speaker at the Young People's Conference of the Synod of Arizona at Montlure, Arizona, at various times since 1936; as Dean and Vesper speaker at the Young People's Conference, Synod of New Mexico, Sandia, intermittently since 1936; as member of the Board of Trustees of Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, since 1942; as Chairman of the El Paso Social Protection Committee of the Federal Security Agency for the investigation and closing of the vice district



in Juarez, Mexico; as President of the Board of Trustees of the Providence Memorial Hospital in El Paso, Texas; and as Chairman of the Committee on National Missions, El Paso Presbytery. In El Paso, Dr. Poling developed an effective ministry to the Spanish-speaking peoples.

Dr. Poling recently took a prominent part in the proceedings of the 158th General Assembly in Atlantic City where he was Chairman of the Standing Committee on Christian Education.

To Teach the World to Be Free

*By Alexander Meiklejohn **

ON NOVEMBER 1, 1945, some three hundred delegates from forty-four nations assembled in London. They had been directed by their Governments to draft a charter for a "specialized agency" of the United Nations.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was thus conceived. The expectation is that in November, 1946, it will be born. It is to be called, for short, Unesco. About ten days ago President Truman, with the approval of Congress, announced the acceptance of membership by the United States.

The new agency is "specialized" in function. But it is specialized only in the sense in which any educational attempt to cultivate intelligence is specialized. It is an agency of study and of teaching rather than of external action. Unesco will have none of the responsibilities or powers of the Security Council, of the World Food Administration, of the International Labor Office. Yet it is concerned with them all. It is essential to them all. In a fundamental sense it is prior to them all. Its aim is the

development of that international intelligence upon which the success of any United Nations activity depends. It seeks to discover and to spread abroad knowledge of facts and of principles, to establish among the peoples of the world mutual understanding, to open up, from one end of the world to the other, the channels of communication. Its goal is that humanity shall become an intellectually self-governing community. Only as we come nearer to that goal can the other agencies of the United Nations hope for solid success in their work.

No one who attended the London conference could fail to feel the passion, the desperate determination, that ran through all its deliberations and decisions. The women and men who took part in the meetings were "intellectuals." But their logic was not cold. It was on fire. It was aflame with eagerness for the success of the United Nations enterprise.

In the discussions at the London conference two themes were constantly recurrent, constantly dominant. First, it quickly became evident that teachers from other lands believe, as strongly as we of the United States do, in democratic freedom for all mankind. Without hesitation they adopted the goal that all human beings, irrespective of cli-

* Professor emeritus of philosophy, University of Wisconsin; visiting lecturer, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland; member of the United States delegation to the Charter Conference of Unesco, November, 1945. Condensed from *The New York Times*, August 11, 1946. Used with permission.

mate, status, race, sex, or any other normal differentiation, shall be equally educated. They did not expect that goal to be reached tomorrow. They have suffered too deeply of late to indulge in utopianism. Yet, for the minds of the teachers of humanity, the ringing words of our Declaration of Independence are as true in Java and in Poland, in Greece and in China, as they are true for us.

The Unesco delegates knew as well as we that no plan for world government can succeed unless it is carried on by consent of the governed. The purpose of the United Nations requires, therefore, that all human beings shall be educated for self-government. They must be equally educated. It is idle to expect our "leaders" to substitute peace for war unless we, the people of the world, for whom they act, understand what they are doing. They must act for us, be responsible to us. And that means that the human beings who dwell upon this planet must become, as rapidly as it can be done, a world community of common knowledge and friendly co-operation, rather than a bedlam of noncommunicating interests and sovereignties. As that community grows, the United Nations will have a chance for success. How slight that chance is at present, one hardly dares to contemplate.

The second principle that animated the conference follows quickly

from the first. It arose from a vivid and painful sense of the failure of modern scholarship to meet its social responsibilities. As the teachers in London planned for mutual understanding among men and nations, they could see anew that knowledge of nature, including human nature, is not merely the achievement of an individual or a group. It is not merely an ornament with which some scholar may be decorated, may become "distinguished." Knowledge is an instrument whose value consists in its usefulness for human welfare. Man has invented many machines. But among them all the most powerful—for good and for all—is his own mind. And that mind has work to do for humanity.

This instrumental view of the practical responsibility of knowing and, with it, an implied condemnation of much of our current scholarship, broke out into words whenever the conference was faced by a vital issue. It was fittingly expressed by a woman delegate from Norway, a pupil of Madame Curie, when she said: "In the past, we scientists have gone into the laboratory to find the truth. And, as we entered, we closed the door behind us to shut out the world of men. Never again will we do that. If we are to find truth, that door must be open. There is no truth in a laboratory which has cut itself off from communication with the human living."

As one thrilled with those words,

one caught a glimpse of a new era in the intellectual history of the race. Scholarship will no longer be for scholars. It will be for men. As that new insight comes to us, we see that the technically brilliant minds that invented the atomic bomb did not know *what* they were doing. They only knew *how* to do it.

To their credit be it said that the realization of their own ignorance has been a startling, transforming experience. Many of them, with a new sense of social responsibility, have been trying to add to the technical skill of the laboratory the wisdom of political and moral judgment. And, in doing so, they point the way that Unesco must travel. If it is true to its purpose, Unesco means that scholarly thinking, as well as practical planning, must henceforth consciously serve the good as well as the true.

That is revolution! That redefinition of purpose, as it becomes effective, will transform every school, every college, every university, every library, every theater, every student, every teacher, every writer, every artist in the modern world. Our intellectuals will be striving, not merely for the discovery of knowledge, but for the establishing of the rights and the happiness of all mankind.

As Unesco seeks to promote intellectual co-operation many lines of action are found to be open. Each nation must, of course, live its own

cultural life, maintain its own intellectual sovereignty. Yet the purposes of the United Nations require that all nations shall be thinking and feeling together, that they co-operate in carrying on a common life of the mind.

For this end, intellectual "exchanges" of every sort must be built up and maintained—exchanges of scholars, of schoolteachers, of adult teachers, of students, of observers, of books and periodicals, of the results and methods of investigation, of the products of artistic achievements, of the materials and devices of teaching. And, especially, the mass media of communication—the press, the cinema, the radio—must be freed from crippling and distortions, must be so inspired by the love of objective truth and goodness that they will reveal mankind to itself, will enable it to see its members significantly and accurately. Unesco, it is clear, will have a multiplicity of things to do.

But this multifariousness of opportunity is perhaps the greatest danger that threatens Unesco. Its officials will be tempted to engage in many "good" enterprises, to carry on, with infinite detail, an indefinite number of unrelated and externalized activities. How, then, can it be saved from becoming merely another efficient but blind bureaucratic machine?

We in the United States who have suffered under the departmental elective scheme of study and teach-

ing know, to our sorrow, that for the purposes of genuine understanding, to study many things is to study nothing. If the learning of the world is to be intelligent, its many activities must be pursued on the basis of some common identity of purpose. They must have focus and relatedness. How, then, shall provision be made for securing to Unesco a fundamental unity and simplicity of idea and of action? . . .

The proposal I wish to make is that Unesco establish and maintain, in the vicinity of the headquarters of the United Nations, an Institution of International Study and Teaching. In the American use of the term, such an institute would be primarily a "faculty"—a group of scholars with two pieces of work to do. First, they must, by co-operative effort, try to know and to understand the United Nations enterprise. Secondly, they must teach younger minds who are searching for the same understanding.

It is important to note, at the outset, that such an institute would not be, as we use the term, a "university." It would be "practical" in purpose. It would be interested in knowledge only as knowledge can be used for the furthering of a definite human enterprise. Its explicit and conscious purpose would be to contribute to the success of the United Nations. Its defining purpose would be that the full force of relevant human intelligence shall be brought to bear upon

the attempt to transform the irresponsible, warring sovereignties of the world into a peaceful, co-operative community.

The members of the faculty would be well-qualified students of history, politics, psychology, economics, literature, and the arts, the sciences, philosophy, and so forth. They would approach the problems of the United Nations, not as negotiators or legislators or administrators, who must make concrete decisions, but as scholars and teachers. They would be seeking, in all fields of knowledge, the wide and accurate information, the formulation of principles, the systematic understanding of forces and values, upon which, in the last resort, men of action must depend for guidance and wisdom.

This identity of purpose between the man of action and the man of theory is the basic postulate of all education. As men seek to live intelligently, theory and action are bound together in holy wedlock. If either deserts the other, intelligence is destroyed. Theory which does not guide action is idle and worthless. Action which is not guided by theory is stupid and self-defeating. Unesco's institute will, then, be theoretically practical.

For the reason just stated it would be very important that some members of the secretariat of the United Nations should be members also of the faculty of the institute. By thus

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The Minister in the Divorce Court

*By John Charles Wynn **

IN CHICAGO'S divorce courts the Church Federation and the Rabbinical Association have been conducting an experiment of clergy counseling in the courts. Each day there has been on duty one minister and one rabbi to counsel with couples of their respective faiths. Roman Catholics, whose near-by chancery offices have a marriage clinic, have not participated in the program.

Over a recent three-month period, twenty-eight Chicago ministers took turns, each time spending the better part of a day on duty in the courts, listening to testimony, standing by for referrals. Then, when a couple was sent to them for aid, they retired to a conference room to discover how they could be of help in the situation of a breaking home.

How It All Started

Requests for clergy counseling had come from the judges' Committee on Marriage. In the midst of a postwar breakdown in morals, and at a time of necessary readjustment in many a soldier's home, Chicago's courts were experiencing an unprecedented number of divorce cases. In June of this year, there were pending no less than 11,000 suits for divorce! Meanwhile, new cases were

being filed at the rate of 100 a day. Cook County was beginning to earn the term "divorce mill." But the great tragedy of it all is that thousands of children and thousands more of young adults are being wrested apart; and the home, the foundation of democracy, of religious, social, and national strength, is seriously impaired. Family life would end for untold numbers in this one metropolis alone.

The Committee on Marriage, composed of judges, lawyers, social workers, and clergymen, mapped out a program to combat this breakdown of marital stability. The first feature of the program was that of supplying clergymen as counselors, on duty in the courtrooms and available to be summoned to other parts of the court.

The Church Federation recruited ministers from all denominations, men who were known to have had experience in marital counseling. These men were supplied with credentials, letters of introduction to the judges, brief instructions on procedure, and report blanks to be filled out and returned to the Federation offices. For a trial period of more than three months, the ministers worked side by side with the Jewish rabbis with on-the-spot counseling for married couples in the divorce court.

* Associate minister, First Presbyterian Church, Evanston, Illinois.

Statistics on Counseling

During the time considered, fifty couples were referred to the ministers for counseling help. This made an average of 1.2 per day. It must be remembered that few divorce cases are contested, and, therefore, that only one member of the couple, the plaintiff, appears in court. When couples did appear together in court, they had to agree to counseling before the minister could talk with them. The judges did not order counseling; they only made it available. Most ministers felt, however, that if they could aid in solving even one such problem a day, it was worthwhile.

A total of six judges sat in court, and referred separating couples to the clergymen. Forty of the fifty couples interviewed had children; of these, thirty-four had children who are minors. The appalling situation of marital breakdown begins to become more impressive when it is understood in terms of the children affected. In nearly every case, it was the woman who brought suit for divorce. Most of them had been married for less than twelve years, and were in their early thirties.

Drinking appears to have been the most common factor contributing to the decision for divorce; it figured in twenty-five of the fifty cases. In nineteen cases, immaturity, instability, or emotionalism were involved. The ministers found that physical abuse of one kind or an-

other had played a prominent part in the marital crisis of fifteen of the couples. In twelve cases, sex complaints were at fault—adultery or perversions of several kinds. Fifteen couples admitted that economic difficulties were a factor in their breakup. In a majority of cases, of course, more than one of these were to blame. A number of the couples involved reported combinations of the above complaints, indicating complex difficulties of long standing which had grown worse with time.

The religious background of the subjects was varied in spite of the interfaith nature of the counseling program. Sixteen Roman Catholics were among those who asked for conferences with the ministers. Some of these were doubtless the mates of Protestant individuals; but the fact that a Protestant minister was in the court and that the diocesan chancery office was several blocks away probably made a difference. One Greek Orthodox and one Jewish person were among those with whom the ministers talked. The rest were of Protestant preference. It was noted that to about 40 per cent of those interviewed religious experience had some meaning. These had attended Church services, or had been enrolled in Church Schools; or they had had some contact with pastors. In all these situations their religion did have meaning of a sort. But in 26 per cent of the total, religion was

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Challenge to Western Democracies

*By John Foster Dulles**

IT IS not easy these days to talk about the Brotherhood of Nations. It would have been easier a year or two ago. Then there was a brotherhood in arms. Now that brotherhood has given way to strain and tension. War coalitions usually do fall apart when they have destroyed the common peril. This time, however, what is happening is more than that. We seem to be witnessing a challenge to established civilization—the kind of thing that occurs only once in centuries.

In the tenth century after Christ the so-called Christian world was challenged by an alien faith. The tide of Islam flowed from Arabia and swept over much of Christendom. It was not primarily a military thrust. Rather, it was a social challenge. H. G. Wells said of it: "Islam prevailed because it was the best social and political order the times could offer. It prevailed because everywhere it found politically apathetic peoples and selfish and unsound governments, out of touch with any people at all. . . . It offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind."

Now another ten centuries have rolled by, and the accumulated civili-

zation of those centuries is faced with another challenge. This time the challenger is Soviet communism.

Challenge to Western Democracy

The faith and institutions of Soviet communism differ vastly from those of the Western democracies. The form of government is dictatorship. The economic life is an extreme form of state socialism. The spirit is revolutionary. The scope of its effort is universal.

Soviet leaders consider, as Islam considered, that the Governments of the outer world are selfish and unsound and out of touch with the people. They believe that they can offer better terms than any others to the mass of mankind. They proclaim to 750,000,000 dependent people their right to be independent, and publicly and secretly they encourage revolutionary efforts to throw off the yoke of what they call Western imperialism. By intensive Spanish and Portuguese language propaganda in Latin America they prod the peoples there, upward of 100,000,000, to arise from political apathy and to take power—as communists. Through Chinese communists they hold out to 400,000,000 Chinese the promise of change from corruption and incompetence which have be-

* Presbyterian layman; authority on international law. Condensed from an address at a meeting of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Philadelphia, September 8, 1946.

come traditional in some circles of Chinese officialdom. To the 350,000,000 continental Europeans, economically wrecked by two world wars, they offer a plan which, they promise, will sustain productivity more surely than an individualistic economy.

Thus the Soviet communist party challenges the supremacy of the so-called Christian world. Controlling at home 10 per cent of the human race, it offers leadership to a further 75 per cent, constituting the overwhelming majority of Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America. That challenge has had an initial success. In every part of the world there are influential groups which accept leadership from Moscow.

To many this is dismaying. It ought to dismay us to discover that the Western democracies, after ten centuries of unchallenged economic and military supremacy in the world, have so slight a spiritual hold on the masses of mankind that they eagerly listen to those who have not even shown that they can establish a good society at home. What is happening is not a measure of Soviet communist capacity. That is still an unproved factor. What is happening is a measure of Western inadequacy. We no longer inspire confidence because we have not done that of which we are capable.

What is happening now could not have happened during the nineteenth century. Then the British industrial

revolution, the French revolution with its concept of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," the "great American experiment" in political freedom, had created world-wide confidence in the dynamic and life-giving quality of our institutions. Now, within a few decades, that confidence is gone and our prestige is everywhere in jeopardy. The Western democracies risk being surrounded and isolated, if not overrun, by an alien faith.

What has happened is not without cause. The Western democracies have been guilty of grave lapses. As colonial powers, they should have advanced more rapidly the self-government of dependent peoples. In the American hemisphere, the United States should have been more concerned with being a good neighbor to peoples, and not merely to Governments. In China, the Western democracies should have had a deeper concern than that the Chinese Government should be acceptable to Treaty Port traders. American industrial and labor leaders ought to have found a way so that, in the pre-war depression, our economy would not have been a dead weight on the world, unable to translate idle men and idle machines into productivity.

Of course it is easier to say that those things should have been done than it is to have done them. Each was a task calling for a high order of ability and statesmanship. Nevertheless, we could have done much more than we did. Some Christians

saw that; but their exhortations carried little weight. So long as no foreign nation was exploiting our inadequacy, it seemed safe and easier to drift along. Now that our failures are seen to be jeopardizing our society of freedom, our people may arouse themselves to remedial action. In that sense the prospect is far from dismaying.

We Can Have a Dynamic Peace

The most important task that faces the American people is that of mental adjustment to a dynamic peace. Most of us would like a peace that is a condition of tranquility. We would like all threat and challenge to be removed and to feel that we can safely relax. We are inclined to believe that unless we get that kind of peace, we have no peace at all. That is a dangerous mental condition. It can readily lead to a mood of frustration, for we are not likely, this time, to get a peace of tranquility. We may, however, get something much better. Peace ought to be a condition of vigorous effort to redress wrongs and to advance the general welfare of mankind. That kind of peace is available to us. It requires no prior agreements or settlements. No nation can close to another that door of opportunity.

It is, of course, of immense importance to the life of Europe and Asia that the victors quickly agree on the terms of peace. On the other hand, there is no warrant for feeling that

until everything is settled between the victors, nothing worth-while can be done. We should see the future in truer perspective. We should not permit ourselves to despair because of disagreements, obstacles, and delays which are now almost inevitable and which, probably for a long time, will prevent a conventional form of peace.

After long exertion the principal victors may agree on what shall be the future territorial, economic, and political status of Germans, Japanese, and Italians. However, by that time anew group of unsettlements will doubtless have risen to plague us. That will go on until a new equilibrium is established in the world as between the faith and institutions of Soviet communism and the faith and institutions of the Western world. That equilibrium will never be achieved by paper agreements or compromises or surrenders. It will be established by the weight of facts. It must first be determined how much constructive influence each society can exert in the world. That will take time.

The Risk of Peace

Such a period of unsettlement is not a disaster. It has its disadvantages and its risks. But a settled peace has its risks too. It is apt to generate an atmosphere of stagnation within which forces of evil readily breed. That was shown by the aftermath of World War I.

History teaches that a static peace is a dangerous peace. Christ taught that same truth. His Gospel was evolutionary, in some respects revolutionary. It taught men constantly to struggle against the imperfections of world order. So Christians want a peace that does not stifle but does encourage efforts to promote human welfare.

In recent years we have been coasting on the waning momentum of the past. Now our people are beginning to see that they must choose between contributing to the world and being isolated, crowded, and jolted by the world. Once that alternative is clearly understood, there is little doubt as to what our choice will be. We shall prove again, as we have proved before, that our society of freedom can gloriously serve mankind.

Of course, a dynamic peace has its risks. It will, under present conditions, involve competition between great powers. There is always danger in such competition. It may become so keen that the competitors will use unscrupulous methods. Each may exasperate the other to a point where ill will is great and peace can be jeopardized by minor incidents. That appears to be the greatest present danger.

We know, however, from our own political system, that it is possible to have a society which, on the one hand, is peaceful and, on the other hand, contains many different be-

liefs, each with devoted adherents who seek competitively to propagate their faith. However, that is possible only under a system where no one is allowed to propagate his faith by coercion, intimidation, purge, or fraud. We need, internationally, the same restraint on intolerant methods. The big question is, Will we get it?

It is possible that we can. Powerful aids are at hand to prevent the competition of great powers from becoming unbridled and unscrupulous and dangerous to peace. There is no warrant whatsoever for concluding that a peace which is dynamic, competitive, and vigorous must, for that reason, culminate in violence.

First of all, none of the competitors want war. None would willingly provoke it. Each may strain the patience of the other, but none will deliberately do what it thinks will lead to major war. The danger that exists is more a danger of miscalculation and can be reduced if the nations deal with each other in terms of candor. The cause of world peace is not really served by giving Soviet leaders the impression that the Western peoples are indifferent and complaisant toward Soviet methods of intolerance.

United Nations—Harmonizing Center

In the second place, we have the United Nations. Public attention focuses upon its Security Council,
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Alcohol Facts

*By Clifford Earle **

IN THE Bible there are more than seventy important references to the evils of drinking. These references comprise a total of more than 160 verses of Scripture—more verses than one can find on such flagrant sins as lying, stealing, swearing, adultery, cheating, hypocrisy, pride, or even blasphemy. In talking about the alcohol problem I am speaking on a popular Bible theme.

I am also speaking on a matter that is deep in the concern of the Christian Church. The New Testament sets a high value on human life. The Church, therefore, must set itself against anything that tends to disintegrate and destroy personality or to degrade human life. Traditionally and specifically, the Church is against the liquor traffic which in America has become a major source of human woe.

Consider the growing magnitude of the liquor problem. In 1945, according to the United States Department of Commerce, the American people spent more than \$7,800,000,000 for alcoholic beverages—an all-time high. This represents an expenditure of nearly \$60 for every man, woman, child, and suckling infant in the country, and a per capita consumption of almost 25

gallons of alcoholic drinks. (I know that I drank nothing alcoholic in 1945; someone must have consumed a gallon a week to make up for my abstinence.) Last year America spent more than three times as much for liquor than it spent for the education of its children and youth. Alongside the national liquor bill, the budgets of all religious bodies in America, put together, are insignificant.

The record for 1945 was bad; for 1946 it promises to be worse. The American Businessmen's Research Foundation reports that in 12 states studied recently there was from 45 per cent to 60 per cent more drinking in February, 1946, than in February, 1945. I wonder if the end of the war and the return of our servicemen from overseas has had anything to do with the astounding increase. The April 29 issue of *Advertising Age* reported that in 1944, 63.6 per cent of the men of America could be classified as liquor consumers, that in 1945 the index had gone up to 74.9 per cent and had risen in 1946 to 77 per cent. From the same source we learn that of all liquor purchased by men 82 per cent was for whisky. We also learn that in one average American city liquor was used in 71 per cent of the homes in 1943, while in 1945 the proportion had gone up to

* Minister, Second Presbyterian Church, Oak Park, Illinois.

81 per cent, or four homes out of five.

These figures add up to these facts: that approximately 50,000,000 men and women in America, or nearly two thirds of our adult population, drink alcoholic beverages; America already drinks more heavily and intemperately than any nation on earth; drinking in this country is increasing so fast that the prospect is alarming.

The prospect is alarming because of what alcohol does to the man who drinks it. Consider these scientific findings:

A quantity of alcohol, received into the human stomach, is not digested. It enters the bloodstream unchanged. Within five minutes measurable traces can be found in the blood. Maximum concentration is reached in from sixty to ninety minutes. If a man who weighs 155 pounds drinks four ounces of whisky or four bottles of beer, the amount of alcohol in his bloodstream will reach six parts in ten thousand, or .06 per cent. In many states a concentration of .15 per cent is legally recognized as intoxication, although most drinkers become inebriated at a much lower concentration.

When it gets into the bloodstream alcohol acts as a depressant, a narcotic. It immediately affects the higher functions of the brain—the functions that are the distinctive glory of humankind—intelligence, judgment, self-criticism, the civilized

inhibitions and restraints. It lowers the threshold of moral discrimination and good taste. Under the influence of liquor a person is less able to judge between right and wrong, and cares less. One ounce of whisky or one bottle of beer is enough to begin to produce these effects. The resulting feeling is a false sense of stimulation due to the deadening of judgment and the partial removal of restraints and controls. Social conversation actually becomes duller and coarser and noisier, but to the drinker it seems more lively, subtle, and witty.

The narcotic action of alcohol is evidenced also in its effect upon the nervous system. When a man's nerves are partly drugged by alcohol he sees, hears, tastes, feels and moves less efficiently than usual. His reaction to physical stimuli is slowed down considerably; the teamwork of head and hand is greatly impaired. Under normal conditions, for example, it takes one fifth of a second for an automobile driver to react to a signal and jam on the brakes. After drinking two glasses of beer, the reaction time is increased by as much as 100 per cent. At 60 miles an hour this means a difference of 18 feet. I have been in several situations where that has been the critical distance.

Recent studies of the National Safety Council show that if a driver has had the equivalent of two cocktails his accident risk is increased by

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Adventures in Christian Fellowship

A Report

FROM Churches located as far east as New York City and as far west as Seattle, Washington, young people in Westminster Fellowships have gone adventuring in Christian brotherhood. Some of them belong to Churches in or near downtown sections of our great cities; others to Churches in small rural communities. Some of them are members of large groups, others of very small groups. Some of them are college and university students participating in our Westminster Foundations. All report that they have grown as a result of their adventures.

The Adventures in Christian Fellowship Contest of 1946 was sponsored jointly again by the Department of Young People's Work and the Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Awards of \$50 each were made to three of the groups reporting Class A adventures which were in the nature of service projects. Three awards of \$30 each were given similarly to the three most outstanding reports of young people competing for Class B awards which were fellowship adventures. Over thirty entered reports of their adventures in the contest. The awards are to be used to send delegates to the various summer enter-

prises of Westminster Fellowship.

The purpose of the contest was twofold: to bring about a better understanding of people of other cultures, faiths, and races that make up our American communities, and to strengthen and enrich our appreciation of our own faith and make better Christian citizens of the youth of our Churches. This twofold purpose paid off in rich dividends in the lives of those who participated as well as in the lives of those with whom they shared in fellowship.

Most groups made a visit to a Roman or Greek Catholic Church a part of their adventure. Careful preparations were made, and searching evaluations followed each of these visits. One group went to an Episcopal Church where a leading minister of the city explained in detail everything in connection with the Church sanctuary and the service of worship. This was excellent preparation for the visit to the Roman Catholic Church a week later. There they were given reserved seats at the front of the church and were welcomed publicly by the priest in his sermon. Said the girl who described the visit: "We do not want to be ignorant of, and therefore prejudiced about, other Churches and other faiths. We worship the same God, and that should make us at least

understanding and sympathetic."

Interfaith understanding included adventures with our Jewish neighbors. The reports of all the young people's groups reveal an interesting series of adventures in all of which they were received with courtesy and warm hospitality. Jewish rabbis seem consistently eager to entertain visitors at services in their temples, to explain and answer many questions, and to make return visits to our youth groups. Questions and discussions covered everything from Zionism to anti-Semitic rumors prevalent today. In these adventures Christian youth learned about the roots that our faith has in Judaism and something of the feeling of a minority group that has been persecuted through the centuries. A group from one of our strong Negro Churches visited a Jewish synagogue, and were warmly received. Two groups in the same presbytery visited a synagogue at the same service, and each was paid a visit later by the rabbi, a refugee from Nazi Germany.

Each group in the contest was required to describe the community in which its Church is located as background for its adventure. Here is the story of a group of young people who organized a Westminster Fellowship in a Church situated in a town which, before the war, was too small to have a full-time pastor. "Our little Church faced tremendous tasks, and the most difficult was the welcoming of the stranger. When

we organized, we found we faced difficulties within our own group of interested young people. In the community were people of all kinds—we could just be Presbyterian and bar our group and good times to any of the 'outlanders,' or we could open our budding organization to all young people of teen age who wanted a place to go on Sunday evening. After a lot of balking and some praying we decided to be generous, but at that time we didn't know just what it would mean. In high school there were boys and girls from all kinds of homes: from a general's home, an ex college president's home, and from homes in 'shanty town.' We have had five and six denominations at one time in our Fellowship and haven't become any less Presbyterian for it. The first year we stepped carefully around the race question, but did have an interesting talk about work in a war relocation area and the interesting Japanese young people, and had a young Japanese girl speak at one of the district rallies. That was all right, but when one of the women brought Chinese soldiers into our choir and into our group we didn't know what to think of it at first; but we discovered that they could play ping-pong with the best of us. One boy was a baritone of no mean ability, having concert experience, and all grew very fond of him and hated to have him leave.

"This winter when we were looking over the Adventures in Christian

Fellowship and the possibility of trying some of the projects, one of our twelfth-graders made the remark that if we had anything to do with the 'Niggers' he wouldn't be allowed to attend the meetings. He wasn't the only one. One of our girls is from Alabama. What would you think her reaction would be? It was! These were not good, but add to the opinions of these newcomers the narrowmindedness of the old citizen, and you can get some idea of the antagonism the executive committee faced when they agreed to undertake the adventure."

Now that it is over, here are some comments of the young people who had part in it: "Before we went to ——— we felt very superior to the Negroes; now we know that they are young people too with interests like ours." "I haven't told my parents of it, but I shall someday. I want them to hear other things about our trip first." "One of my schoolteachers said that it must have been a wonderful experience, for so many of us have talked about it in classes today that practically everyone in high school is interested." "If we aren't more tolerant now, we aren't Christians."

Other groups have written in the same vein of their interracial experiences. The Negro group mentioned above invited a group of white young people to their Church, took them into their homes for dinner, and then had a joint meeting in their Church.

The white group reciprocated and followed the same plan.

Comments, selected from the Adventure reports are revealing: "In playing and talking with them, we found that their problems in the youth group were very similar to ours, even in such a different environment. It was hard to see any differences that could be attributed to their race, and when we invited them to our Church and became better acquainted there seemed to be even less difference." "A Negro girl one of us made friends with on the bus has promised to come out to speak to us. But since all this is in the future we can't write it up. This is just to let you know we're working on the Negro aspect and don't propose to give up just because we were downed in the first round." "One decision which we made was that the whole problem is ours to solve, the old folks are too hardshelled." "Not all the reports from our group were so generous. One of the girls still thinks that the only solution is 'keeping the Negro in his place'—here is a job for us: to help her to be more generous."

Interracial adventures were not limited to experiences of Christian fellowship with Negroes. Several groups initiated programs, many of which are continuing, with Japanese-Americans, Latin Americans, and people of other nationalities. "One of our young people's families with seven children have taken in an

eight, a five-year-old Japanese boy. His father had a hard time finding work when he returned from a relocation camp and he wanted his little son to have a plan to grow up as a 'Christian and an American.' Our whole Church has taken a real interest in this small boy and our Church session voted \$75 at Christmas time because they appreciated the spirit of the family and wanted to make that appreciation substantial."

Reports of Class A projects suggest interesting types of service rendered by various groups.

A group of university students secured a professional barber to cut the hair of Negro boys who, unwelcome in local barbershops, had been cutting one another's hair. A co-operative barbershop may result.

Several groups collected food and clothing for Europe and Asia in amounts running into many hundreds of articles.

White young people joined a group of Negro youth in a week-end work conference in a newly established neighborhood house.

One group provided funds for a Negro girl to visit her husband in a distant city, and will spend part of

its award to send two Negro young people to summer conference.

Young people built a sandbox and cleared a recreation ground for children of migrant Indian workers on a farm operated by a large packing company owned by a Japanese-American.

Another group provided services, gifts, and refreshments for the residents of an old people's home. Yet another group initiated a series of parties for deaf children. And still another did the same for the children of a colored orphanage.

And finally another group makes this report: "In the course of a truly fine service many of our young people made decisions to accept Christ and to dedicate their lives to his service. In our adventure we had an opportunity to put into practical use our insight into the Christian life."

Perhaps this is the conclusive test of the value of the second annual Adventures in Christian Fellowship Contest. Arrangements have been made, and plans are under way for the contest in 1947. More Westminster Fellowship groups will participate next winter, and begin to make plans early in the fall.

Racial Solidarity

I see not America only. . . . I see the solidarity of the races. . . . I see tremendous entrances and exits. . . . I see Freedom, victorious, with Law on one side and Peace on the other.

Walt Whitman, 1865.

Personal Adjustment

By Otha C. Harris *

THE recurrence of discussions on the Negro problem is very pronounced. Perhaps the war with its various effects can be thought of as one reason for the issues of the race question, and especially of the so-called Negro problem, coming to the fore. Many discussions drift into what has been acclaimed as the Negro problem. A reason for the prevalence of the discussion among Negroes could be a certain sensitiveness to the social, economic, and political setup that surrounds them, and the will to forge ahead unmolested in every field of endeavor. The popularity of the discussion among the whites could be attributed to the desire for a continued *status quo*. Whatever the reasons, the question is a popular one. The radio presents talks, and newspapers and magazines carry lengthy columns on the question. In the libraries of the land latest editions on the Negro problem, or the American dilemma, are given first-place emphasis.

America, being the melting pot of races, is also the melting pot of thought. Not often has it been acknowledged by radio, nor in newspapers and best sellers, that there is no Negro problem, or race problem, but, rather, that entire matter

is one of personality adjustment.

Writers on the subject have, for the most part, approached it as a problem of race. This approach not only carried the expression "race problem"; it helped to shape the opinion of individuals when they failed to adjust themselves to persons of other races. Believing there is a race problem, or Negro problem, we fail to see the whole thing as one of adjustment unto the orderly plan of God. There are personalities like those of two gentlemen from Georgia and Mississippi, who in their failure to become adjusted begin to emphasize the seriousness of the Negro problem. As a matter of grave disposition it rates as a "back to Africa" movement. Such helps to speed an opinion which is not sound because of its origin in maladjusted personalities.

God created everything out of an orderly mind. His creation seems to require personal adjustment, which in due time will be an adjustment of all men. What is really a simple adjustment has been made one of complications in many Negro and white personalities. This could be accounted for in unhealthy environments, because of mores and customs, and in poor educational background, or in little or no religious training.

* Minister, Trinity Presbyterian Church, Smithfield, North Carolina.

Personal adjustment is the having of a knowledge of, and a living for, the equality of expression of opportunity and life in the community for all men in spite of differences of race, color, and creed. There are many white and black people of this land who are adjusted to this universal law, which should govern every individual and race. These are they who dare write and live within such a law in order that others may become adjusted in life.

Many have become adjusted through education received in the home, the Church, and the school. Others have become adjusted in the foxholes of the Pacific, or on the beaches of Normandy and southern France. A white soldier serving with an amphibian engineer unit in New Guinea told his wife by letter: "Remember how I used to look down on a colored man? Never again. They've done their part too. They, along with medical units, are unsung heroes of war. I've seen both work under fire as if bullets were drops of rain. They deserve a world of credit."¹

While there are some adjusted and moving toward perfectibility, there are white and black Americans suffering from maladjustment. In many this maladjustment is quiescent. Others sound their ills abroad, over the air, and through the printed column, as they think and act in terms of racial superiority. The

radio and printed column carry signs of personality maladjustment when we hear and read about sending the Negro back to Africa. Those who do not have opportunity to give vent to their maladjustment by use of radio and printed page do so as they sit in group sessions. Psychology will classify this as an escape—the failure to face a reality vital to human adjustment. The Christian religion will classify it as ignorance of the will of God. The will which is basic in all human relationships is the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

The War Department memorandum issued July 8 over the signature of Major General James Ulio, the Adjutant General, said, "Restricting personnel to certain sections of such transportation because of race will not be permitted either on or off a post, camp, or station, regardless of local civilian custom."²

A Southern governor, by protesting to President Roosevelt against the War Department order forbidding discrimination between Negro and white personnel at Army posts, represented the maladjusted personalities when he said, "May I respectfully ask that you give this matter your personal attention, and, before the order is made effective, that you give consideration to the opinions of those of us who are trying to help.

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¹ From *Journal and Guide*, August 19, 1944.

² From *Norfolk Virginia Pilot*, August 25, 1944.

For Time

Thanksgiving 1946

But Jesus said to him: "Follow me. . . . And when he got into the boat, his disciples followed him. And behold, there arose a great storm on the sea."

Thank God for the trouble he has led us into! The testimony of the psalmist, "He hath delivered me out of all trouble," is true for us also. But let no one assume that trouble will become an increasingly rare experience for those who dare to follow this world's only Saviour. Jesus did not offer such hope to his disciples. What promise of present security can be drawn from, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves," or, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it?" The most casual glance at the Scriptures and the problems of our day should convince us that we are not in for an easy time of it.

Jesus is today leading his Church into all the troubled areas of our convulsed life. The hope of the world lies in this fact. Our Restoration Fund is fresh evidence that his disciples still follow him. It is unthinkable that in this hour of suffering anyone, anywhere, should claim exemption as his Christian right, or regard his untouched treasure as the sure sign of God's favor. Men have been known to close their eyes in prayer—and against their neighbor's need—and thank God for the bounty they held—and withheld! God save us all from thus adding sin to sin.

Thanksgiving is at hand. Let us thank God for many of the privations we have chosen. Let us be thankful for some of the things we don't have because we are not only counting our blessings but sharing them. Entirely apart from the penalties of costly work stoppages, we now suffer some shortages because we care. According to *The New York Times*, "hundreds of thousands of lives have been saved and a vast amount of suffering alleviated. . . . Mass starvation has been licked everywhere in the world except possibly China and India. . . . Americans will find their meat and butter shortages more endurable because our own shortage news is not sharing the daily paper reports about starving women and children in Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia, China."—This because of UNRRA, and we have paid three fourths of UNRRA's bills.

Many of us will be eating dark bread with the rest of the world on Thanksgiving, and that is much better than eating white bread—alone. Today we give thanks as we give. For those who follow Jesus, the way is clear. It is the way into trouble, and through it, together with him.

ke These

UN Crisis

"The international situation is critical. Deep concern and much skepticism are felt as to whether the purpose of the nations is strong enough, or the United Nations as an instrument is effective enough to build an ordered and just world. It is essential that our people continue to be informed and to give intelligent support to the United Nations, which, though perhaps imperfect, can, if properly used, be the instrument for the forging of international co-operation and world order."—*General Assembly, 1946.*

This Is Not Peace

"The war is over; the guns are silent. Dust settles in a thousand ruined cities. Grass grows on ten million graves and ten times ten million hungry people clamor for bread in a world of famine. This is not peace. No man dare call this peace when fear of death chills the heart of all mankind, be it by slow starvation or sudden blast. It is not even the shadow of peace to come.

"Yet peace is in the making. In our time the pattern will be traced, the first girders will be raised for a world-wide edifice to shelter all nations against the fear of war. It is either this or utter destruction. If despair is the spur, faith in God's purpose for man is the rein to guide us in this search for peace. As we believe in him, so must we begin to believe in our fellow men. Peace is born as we come together with conflicting views and diverse backgrounds to consider in good faith each other's needs. Feeble though the start may be, true peace will create its own defenses. It will grow as men and nations grow in understanding. The longer it endures, the deeper will its roots entwine in human affairs and the stronger it will stand as a monument to man's victory over himself.

"How can we make a beginning toward this creative peace? Today mankind is bankrupt of faith in man. Then let us begin with ourselves. Let us shape our own lives in the spirit that takes away the occasion for war. In such a life there can be no distinction between personal, national, or international affairs. All are one in the compass of human society.

If we would have peace in the world, then let us create peace in ourselves and let us give a peaceful setting for those who come within our orbit.¹
—*A Friend.*

¹ From the *American Friends Service Committee News*, August-September, 1946. Used with permission.

Martha at Family Worship

*By M. Willard Lampe **

TIME for worship, Martha." The words were directed through an open door leading to the kitchen. Presently Martha appeared and sat down in a group of five or six who had pushed back their chairs from the breakfast table. Meanwhile mother had taken her place at the organ. She played a hymn and led the singing.

Then father took over. A Bible lay on the table before him, already open at the place from which he wanted to read. Then we kneeled, and father offered an unhurried prayer of praise, thanksgiving, confession, and petition, concluding with the Lord's Prayer, in which all audibly joined.

Martha had spent ten minutes of her day at worship in the family circle where she was employed. What it meant to Martha, I do not know. But I can testify that it meant much to one member of the family.

The memory of this daily boyhood experience came back vividly when I read *Martha in the Modern Age*, a fascinating discussion of household employment in the light of Christian principles, prepared by an especially constituted Committee on Household Employment sponsored by the Division of Social Education and Action

in co-operation with the Women's Committee of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

My testimony is this: I am sure that the presence of Martha at family worship, more than anything else during my boyhood, impressed upon me the democratic and Christian conception of the employer-employee relationship. The fundamental equality of human beings seemed very reasonable within a circle joined in common prayer.

Recently one of the Marthas who had served in the family of my boyhood attended a commencement convocation at the university where I am a teacher of religion. It had been several decades since we had last prayed together in a family circle. On this occasion I was the chaplain and so offered the prayers in which she, as a member of the university family on that day, joined. She had been invited to be present because her son was one of those who marched to the platform to receive the university's highest degree, doctor of philosophy. Again, as when I was a boy, Martha seemed to be with us at family worship, and her presence, made resplendent by the achievement of her talented son, was an inspiring revelation of Christian democracy.

* Administrative Director, School of Religion, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

*A Message to Our Churches**

The crisis of humanity mounts with each passing day. The fabric of our society, weakened by years of global war, is being torn asunder by growing conflict between two worlds. The tensions between the Soviet and Western powers dim the prospects for just or durable peace settlements and heighten the terrible insecurity of this atomic age. Before the task of world reconstruction has really begun, the great powers are showing through competition in armaments a fear and distrust of each other, which, if unchecked, may lead to new war. Fear and frustration mark the mood of the peoples. Truly, this is a time of testing for the family of nations, and for the Churches of Christ in every land.

The Christian witness in the world of nations is a challenge to governments and peoples. Unless there is a moral transformation in the hearts of individuals and in society, the seeds of pride and selfishness will surely produce the bitter fruit of a more terrible war. Our Churches have stated this truth repeatedly. The passage of time has only made more clear its validity. If there is to be sufficient world order to prevent chaos, international relations must be changed at their source—in the spirit of man. There is no substitute for a fundamental conversion of attitudes.

The building of the United Nations as a method for constructive co-operation is of utmost importance in the struggle for a just and durable peace. It offers a favorable opportunity peacefully to adjust conflicting interests, to review and revise unjust conditions in the peace settlements, to further human rights and fundamental freedoms, to control weapons of mass destruction, to concert the efforts of humanity on the tremendous tasks of reconstruction. But the United Nations organization is built upon the premise of international fellowship. It is a mechanism that can be used, neglected, or misused. If it is to be used successfully, the nations must find a new loyalty to all humanity above their separate loyalties, and a common foundation of moral principles beneath their conflicting philosophies. Unless there is such a conversion of attitudes, all plans for peace are doomed to tragic failure. This warning must be taken to heart by the Churches of Christ and by the nations of men.

The Christian witness for world order is also a message of hope. This is God's world, and he has not forsaken it. In Jesus Christ he has revealed for all time his infinite love. No matter how dark the prospects for man-

* Approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued by the Department of International Justice and Good Will.

kind may seem, the Christian, knowing God and his justice and his mercy, will not despair. The Christian knows that man is called to a higher destiny. He knows that God's help is ever available to those who turn to him with penitent hearts. He knows that God's righteous will shall yet be done on earth. Therefore he finds sure grounds of confidence despite great peril. In the midst of preparations for war, made more fearful by new weapons, there is still the real possibility that humanity may gain the vision and will to turn back from disaster before it is too late. Out of the depths men can turn in hope and confidence to God.

In this great crisis of our world, the responsibility resting upon the Churches of Christ is particularly great, for the leadership which is required above all is a moral and spiritual leadership. If the Christian community and its members should fail to serve in the forefront of this struggle, we would be disloyal to the obligations of our faith.

It is imperative that we, as Christian citizens, become more informed about the bases of peace and take an active part in the shaping of foreign policy, by expressing clearly, each in accordance with his own conscience, approval or disapproval of measures proposed.

It is imperative that we join with fellow Christians in the corporate world order programs of our Churches to mobilize the Christian world community for action, and to project Christian principles into the peace settlements and the United Nations.

It is imperative that we stand steadfast against all reckless efforts to solve the tensions of our times by violent means as well as against any weak surrender to these tensions in the form of defeatism and despair.

It is imperative that we build up and sensitize the moral conscience of the people and develop a will to peace with justice which is both patient and persistent.

It is imperative that we intensify our efforts for the establishment of a deeper sense of brotherhood, through sacrificial giving to help to heal the wounds of the world, through more thorough education for loyalty to humanity, through more devoted support of the missionary enterprise, through clearer manifestation of the Christian faith in our daily lives.

Let the Churches of Christ, in world-wide fellowship, respond to the present crisis in a manner worthy of our heritage and consonant with our faith.

Let us all seek God's help in presenting the Christian witness for world order.¹

¹ The message in leaflet form may be ordered from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Price, 10 cents each; \$4.00 a hundred.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Information on Laws Passed

Child Labor. The U. S. Children's Bureau has issued a new regulation declaring the following operations hazardous and prohibiting the employment of minors under eighteen years of age therein: work of operating an elevator, crane, derrick, hoist, or high-lift truck (with certain exceptions); work involving riding on a freight elevator, except to and from work if elevator is operated by an assigned operator; work of assisting in the operation of a crane, derrick, or hoist performed by crane hookers, crane chasers, hookers-on, riggers, rigger helpers, and like occupations.

Vocational Education. Congress passed Senate Bill 619, granting enabling funds on a matching basis to states to stimulate the extension of vocational education programs in communities not now adequately served. Services to be expanded are agricultural education, home economics and homemaking, trades and industry, various other occupations. For information inquire at the office of education in your state capitol.

Hospital Survey and Construction Act. This act is designed to fill one of the major gaps in our health program. It seeks to strengthen our national health program through the provision of more adequate hospital facilities and

public-health centers. For details, write the Surgeon General, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D.C.

Social Security Amendments of 1946. Amendments as passed granted increase in funds for child health, services for crippled children, child welfare services and public assistance. Grants are to cover work in both rural and urban areas. For services in your own area, or increase in services, communicate with your governor. (Additional information on Social Security appears below.)

Congressional Salaries. Congressmen voted a 25 per cent increase in their salaries and added another 25 per cent to their tax-exempt expenses allowance. Increase was granted to all other Federal workers.

Tidelands Oil. Congress voted to give away the Federal Government title to the tidelands oil lands. Since a dispute is now before the Supreme Court to establish public ownership against private oil interests the President vetoed the bill. The House sustained the veto.

Action Needed Now

Housing. Congress adjourned without passing the National Housing Act (see SOCIAL PROGRESS, June, 1946, p. 33). This legislation is very much needed in order to prevent further delay in the critical housing shortage. Until some over-all hous-

ing bill such as this is passed there can be no further planning for public housing. Many individuals and groups are now writing the President, urging him to call a *special* session of Congress to pass housing legislation as well as some of the other urgent matters listed below.

Conscription. In view of the position of the General Assembly in opposition to peacetime conscription for military training or service, a news item in *The New York Times*, September 20, 1946, should have special notice. The Secretary of War, Robert Patterson, in addressing the National Guard Association meeting in Buffalo, stated that the War Department will propose a program of six months of universal military training when Congress convenes in January, 1947. Letters supporting the General Assembly should be addressed to Secretary Patterson, Washington, D.C., and to the President of the United States.

Atomic Energy Commission. At the time we go to press the President is still delaying the appointment of the Atomic Energy Commission in spite of the passage of the McMahon Bill of July, 1946. The establishment of this commission has been regarded as the first essential toward the control of atomic energy, yet one delaying tactic after another has been used to keep this commission from being established. In the meantime we continue to pour money into atomic bombs to store in the ground

in Tennessee. To further the purposes of the General Assembly (1946) pronouncements on atomic energy, write the President of the United States, urging the appointment of this commission without further delay.

For the Docket of the Next Congress

In addition to the items listed above, other specific concerns of Christians in the legislative field are: cancer cure and prevention, Social Security amendments, particularly those that have to do with including household employment under the law, minimum wage, National Health Act, National Science Foundation, Permanent Fair Employment Peacetime Commission, antilynching legislation.

Social Legislation Information Service

We are glad to advise our readers of this service. This organization provides weekly bulletins of factual information regarding Federal action in health, education, welfare, housing, employment, and recreation. It takes no position whatever. A trial subscription is available—\$5, for five months.

For further information write to:

Social Legislation
930 F Street, N.W.
Washington 4, D.C.

To Teach the World to Be Free

(Continued from page 5)

serving in the two organizations their common members would help in giving both to active administration and to theoretical understanding the health and vigor which neither of them can have unless it is kept in right relations with the other.

It would be essential, also, that the scholars of the institute should be chosen from many nations and should be widely representative of the differing cultures of mankind. The faculty must in this way practice what it preaches. It must demonstrate that men who are separated by differences of taste, of background, or economic and political custom, of belief and of habit, can yet, in the forms of generous fellowship, study together the problems that arise out of the common attempt to organize the world for peace.

But the most serious demand that must be met by the members of the faculty of the institute is that they should have, and in greater measure should be seeking to have, intellectual acquaintance with one another.

In a vital sense, the studying and teaching of the institute must be done, not by separate members of the faculty, but by the faculty itself, acting as a co-operative group. As the institute seeks to advance the cause of the United Nations, it would be hindered rather than helped by the studies of economists who have no cognizance of the "scientific" or "artistic" or "political" or "philosophical" significance of their work. And the same observation applies to the experts in science or art or politics or philosophy or history.

In spite of all its multiplicity of detail the United Nations enterprise is a single enterprise. If it is not understood as a whole, it is not understood at all. The faculty must recognize that they are all engaged in the same inquiry. And each of them must know what that inquiry is,

must see it at work in the minds of his colleagues as vividly as he sees it in his own mind. We shall not create an effective unity in human action if the scholars who should be thinking that unity into being have no effective intellectual communication with one another. That is the primary reason why, as scholarly work is now done, we must have an institute rather than a university to give intellectual guidance to the activities of Unesco.

The pupils of the institute, like the faculty, should be widely representative of the differing cultures of the world. As nearly as possible, they should be drawn, in proportional numbers, from all the nations. They should be persons of high intellectual quality and training who seek to prepare themselves for such international activities as adult education, communications, trade, diplomacy, and so forth.

If adequate forms of international adult education can be devised, it seems probable that this is the field in which the institute would exercise its most direct and powerful influence. The adult citizens of the world community must learn, by patient and well-planned study, what their citizenship offers them, what it requires of them. They will not learn that lesson by hearing casual lectures, by sharing in casual discussions, by the casual reading of popular books. They must join with their fellow citizens of all lands in persistent and well-organized study, directed by competent leaders.

In the last resort it is in this field of adult learning and adult teaching that the battle for peaceful world organization will be won or lost. People cannot be free unless they are educated for freedom. And in this field the institute would have a peculiar responsibility. It might even, acting in co-operation with the secretariat of Unesco, take supervision over adult teaching.

No one knows as yet what are to be

Unesco's plans for adult education. But whatever they may be, their clarity and vigor will depend largely on such unitary guidance as the institute might give. Here again it is true that a multitude of unrelated activities will confuse and distract the intelligence of the world rather than enlighten it. The institute which tries to understand the United Nations must see to it that the methods and results of that inquiry become the common possession of all humanity.

The making of plans for Unesco's institute will require much investigation and reflection, much conference among scholars, and teachers of many nations. Planning for education is never an easy, uncomplicated process. It would be idle at this time to attempt to anticipate the various conclusions of such a conference. What we need now is the setting up of a planning commission. It should have time and scope for its deliberations. But the need is very urgent, and no time should be wasted.

Presumably, the institute should begin its work on a small scale, with a faculty of from twenty to twenty-five persons and a few hundred students.

Whatever other organizational arrangements may be made, one basic principle may be taken as valid beyond question. The faculty must have unqualified freedom to do its work as its own judgment may direct. On all questions relating to the content and the method of study and teaching the decisions of the faculty must be final. In other administrative respects the institute would, of course, be under the control of Unesco or of some board established by Unesco.

The forms of co-operation between such an administering board and a faculty of scholars and teachers are always hard to determine. But, at whatever cost in terms of other values, the freedom of learning and of teaching must be maintained. A governing board may fix a teacher's salary but it may never use that or any other

power as a way of telling him what or how he must teach. He and his colleagues, acting together, with a common recognition of a common responsibility, must continually make and continually remake that decision.

Can Unesco's institute be established? If so, can it be kept true to its mission? Is that mission sensible? Is its goal in working terms attainable? We are, I think, justified in answering yes to all these questions.

Never, I believe, in human history has such a teaching opportunity been presented to mankind. The radical defect of most of our current educational work is that the moral and intellectual elements of our experience have fallen apart in hopeless dislocation. Scholarship ignores morality. Morality is unaware of scholarship. But in the magnificent challenge which is brought to us by the enterprise of the United Nations, scholarship and morality are again fused.

It demands of us alike the highest excellence of our minds and the richest and most generous aspirations of our wills. We have something to study and to teach, because we have something to do. We have something to destroy which is evil, something to create which is good. We can all be bound together in our thinking because we are all bound together by the common fears, the common hopes of a desperate human undertaking.

The United Nations is an expression—an external, political expression—of the human purpose that we shall cease from killing what we care for, that we shall cease from building up what we abhor. That purpose requires of all men the fullest possible cultivation and use of their intelligence.

To lead the way in that cultivation and in that use is the "specialized" task of Unesco.

To explore and to mark out the way is and will continue to be the task of Unesco's institute.

The Minister in the Divorce Court

(Continued from page 7)

definitely not meaningful; and for the remainder no religious interest was noticeable.

Consensus

The opinion of the ministers who took part in the counseling experience is that the ministry to the divorce courts is "too little and too late." Though earlier counseling might have made a great difference, courtroom reconciliations are few and far between.

What the experience did teach clergymen was the need for premarital education, for careful preparation for matrimony, and for resources for helping the young couple early in their marriage. A number of cases were referred to the Family Service Bureau, others to near-by pastors for continued counseling, and still others to psychiatrists. It was recognized that reconciliation is not the *summum bonum* in many an estrangement. Sometimes the reconciliation can be only temporary because of the nature of the conflict; and yet during that reconciliation another child may be conceived or born. Hence if a second separation comes, another person has been involved to bear its effects! The ministers were cautioned to make sure that the stuff was there out of which a firm marriage could still be built before they persuaded a couple to try again.

Convinced that prevention rather than patching is the job of the parson, many of the men involved resolved to do more in the way of education for marriage in their own Churches. Some have advised Churches to open counseling centers which will be widely publicized so that a couple in trouble will know where to turn. All were agreed with Rabbi Louis Mann that state legislation should be enacted which

would compel the man and the woman seeking a marriage license first to take a course in marriage training. This, according to the Mann Plan, would be as much a prerequisite for the issuance of the license as a Wassermann test now is. Other suggestions included better training in sex education for adolescents, uniform divorce laws in all the states of the Union, provisions for an administrative office in the courts to clear divorce data before they reach the trial, opening of community counseling centers.

Impelled by the dreadful loss represented in broken homes, appalled by the picture of 41,000 children whose parents have been divorced in Cook County in the past three years, Christian ministers are revamping their educational programs to make room for premarital training. As long as one judge alone in Cook County continues to hear 75 divorce suits daily, no conscientious Christian can be content while family life continues to disintegrate.

It is well recognized that the answer lies not in granting "fewer divorces," but in building stronger marriages so that the prospect of divorce is already precluded by the strength of the home. Irving Eiseman, an attorney and member of the Committee on Marriage, put it aptly when he said: "It has been stated that neither the judge nor the lawyer, nor the legislature, is responsible for the progression of the ratio of divorces to marriages. Divorce is merely the end product, the unhappy conclusion of a series of interrelated social and economic phenomena that produce the conditions that result in divorce. The oft-repeated statement that the solution lies in stricter laws or stricter judges is illusory. Neither laws, nor judges, nor lawyers, create the conditions that produce divorce. The only answer is within society itself. Society, through Church, school, cultural institutions, and other media for influencing moral behavior, has the only means for strengthening the moral will to preserve happy family relations."

Sanctuary

Prayers for Thanksgiving

Call to Worship:

Leader: "It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord."

People: "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations . . . from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God."

Leader: "Let the nations be glad and sing for joy: for thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth."

People: "And the earth shall yield her increase. . . . God shall bless us; and all the ends of the earth shall fear him."

Invocation:

O God whose love exalts our littleness, whose gentleness doth make us great, come thou into our hearts this day. For food and shelter, for health and strength, for friendship and love, and for all the familiar blessings which too often we unthinkingly accept, we give thee thanks. Yet, O God our Father, with our thankfulness we pray for courage to desire thy greater gifts. Help us to pray, not that we may be sheltered, but that we may be strong; not that we may receive much, but that we may give more. And above all, our Father, we pray that we may know Christ and his life that the same mind that was in him may be in us. Amen.

Adapted.

Prayer of Confession:

God of all nations, Father of mankind, we would serve thee more worthily in the establishment of a world of peace and justice for all thy children. We confess that our visions have been limited, our wills have been often weak, and our efforts have been inadequate. We acknowledge that the grave crisis of the world is partly of our making. We have wandered from thee. In penitence, we would commit our wills to thy holy will. In humility, we turn to thee for help. Enlarge our visions, that we may see more clearly the needs of humanity and the ways by which we, in our several walks of life, may help to meet those needs. Strengthen our wills, that we may in quiet confidence persist in the lifelong task of building world order. Reinforce our endeavors for a just and lasting peace, we beseech thee, that out of our weak efforts may yet come great good for thy Kingdom. In the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.¹

A Litany for World Concord:

Leader: Almighty God, Creator of all mankind and eternal Ruler of all nations; we bless thee for the spirit which has moved the peoples of the earth to a common effort for justice, righteousness, and peace. For the establishment of the United

¹ From *The Churches and World Order*, 1946, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Nations, and for its possibilities in creating friendly relations, mutual respect, and lasting peace among the nations;

People: We praise thy holy name.

Leader: For our own shortcomings, our personal and national self-seeking, our love of material things, our undue pride, our subtle complacency, and the influence of these things in bringing to the world twice in our lifetime the scourge of war;

People: We make our humble confession.

Leader: For that larger freedom which shall promote social progress and provide all mankind with a richer, fuller life;

People: We beseech thee, O Lord.

Leader: For a new devotion to justice, a universal acceptance of moral law as guiding principle, and a new respect for lawful agreements among the nations;

People: We beseech thee, O Lord.

Leader: For the United Nations in its resolve to unite the world in the quest for peace, to strengthen universal security through measures for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and to harmonize the actions of nations in the common interest;

People: We beseech thee, O Lord.

Leader: For the efforts of the United Nations to bring to solution those problems whose roots lie deep in the cultural, racial, and economic life of the peoples;

People: We beseech thee, O Lord.

Leader: For the gatherings of the United Nations, that they may be marked by friendship, common purpose, sympathetic understanding, basic agreement, and united resolve to bring to mankind a new era of righteousness and peace;

People: We beseech thee, O Lord.

Leader: O God, our Father, in whose hands are the issues of the days and the generations; so rule and overrule in the deliberations of man that thy will may be manifest in the life of the nations, and thy children find that abundant life which is thy desire for all mankind. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.²

Benediction:

Grant to us, O Lord,
To know that which is worth knowing,
To love that which is worth loving,
To praise that which can bear with praise,
To hate what in thy sight is unworthy,
To prize what to thee is precious,

And above all

To search out and to do what is well-pleasing unto thee;
Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Thomas à Kempis.

² Prepared by Deane Edwards for The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace.

Challenge to Western Democracies

(Continued from page 11)

but an aspect of the life of the United Nations is "to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations" in regard to economic, social, and humanitarian matters. If any member state wants to see undernourished people get more food, idle workers get more employment, ignorant people get more education, impoverished people get more economic development, dependent people get more self-government, there is an organ of the United Nations through which it can prosecute its desire.

These activities of the United Nations are already getting under way. At the first meeting of the Assembly in London, all but one of the nations holding colonial mandates expressed the intention to accept United Nations trusteeship. Great Britain is showing in India that it respects its undertaking under Chapter XI of the Charter. It is performing there a historic task of great delicacy by the use of statesmanship of a high order. The Dutch Government is promoting autonomy in the Netherlands East Indies. The United States has proposed that atomic energy should be developed by the United Nations so that there will not be competition along national lines. There already exist organs or specialized agencies to deal with food, health, economic development of backward areas, and monetary stability.

That illustrates how the United Nations can effectively serve as a harmonizing center. If the members of the United Nations will vigorously develop its humanitarian activities, that will do much to prevent human misery and discontent from being exploited by particular groups for ulterior purposes. Indeed, the gain can be more than negative. The United Nations, by developing common peacetime goals, may revive the spirit of brotherhood which existed when the United Nations

were fighting for common wartime goals.

The Moral Law

Finally, there is the moral law. That is not something only preachers talk about on Sunday. It is something that the most realistic politicians take into account.

Moral law is variously expressed and understood. Its implications do not seem to all to be the same. It needs to be translated into codified world law. But even today moral law can serve mightily to direct the conduct of nations into ways consonant with peace.

In August, 1946, the representatives of non-Roman Christian Churches from fifteen lands met at Cambridge, England, to discuss the part that the Churches might take in world affairs. It was unanimously agreed that "the judgment and guidance of the Christian conscience upon international problems must be clearer and more decisive than hitherto." To that end we established a permanent Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. It can be expected that that commission will recognize that peace requires the co-operation of men of all nations, races, and creeds and that the principles upon which world order depends are those which men of good will throughout the ages have accepted as part of the moral law.

Nothing that we have said affords a basis for easy optimism. We would only delude ourselves if we did not look on the future as one of peril. That, however, is no reason for pessimism. The future has always been a future of peril. Often the perils have been hidden so that there has been no defense against them. Also, those perils brought with them no opportunity comparable to the risk. This time the perils are seen, defenses are at hand, and the dynamic spirit which produces the peril can produce an era of unprecedented progress. Thus we have great opportunity at the price of measurable risk. More than this men should not ask.

The Workshop

Laymen's Missionary Movement.

The co-operation of some 50,000 pastors is being enlisted by the missionary boards of forty-nine Protestant denominations, and some 30,000 other pastors in addition, through Resident Chairmen in over 3,000 cities and towns, according to a statement by the Laymen's Missionary Movement. All former records are expected to be exceeded in this sixteenth annual observance of Men and Missions Sunday on November 17, 1946, in the United States and October 20 in Canada. As in the past, chaplains of the armed forces in both countries, and over a thousand theological students, are being enlisted to help in the promotion of this emphasis that the Christian mission is the task of laymen.

Dr. Arthur H. Compton and John Foster Dulles have participated in programs that have been transcribed for radio broadcasts in furtherance of this Men and Missions Sunday observance. A special broadcast for this year is being prepared.

A speaker's manual, containing inspiring messages from twelve eminent clergymen and also some prominent laymen including Lawson H. Cooke, Cleveland E. Dodge, Harvey Firestone, Jr., Eric Johnston, and others, is available through any missionary board or directly from the office of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois, or in Canada, 192 Fulton Avenue, Toronto 6, Ontario.

New Chaplaincy Ventures. 1. A city-wide chaplaincy service for every Clevelander who seeks help has been started by the Cleveland Church Federation.

The new service will begin with a survey of religious services available at all hospitals, institutions, and community homes by Rev. David Loegler, new director

of chaplaincy and associate secretary of the Church Federation.

Through his counseling on all kinds of personal problems, Mr. Loegler will open a new attack on Cleveland's rapidly rising divorce rate. Dissatisfied husbands and wives will be able to air their problems in the office of the new director before they reach the divorce court. In this phase of his work, Mr. Loegler will be aided by a committee, including a psychologist and a psychiatrist.

Having been volunteer chaplain at many Cleveland hospitals and institutions during the past fourteen years, Dr. Loegler will also supply guidance, in his new capacity, to ministers in their dealings with inmates of hospitals in city institutions.

2. Revealing the growing interest of Churchmen in new chaplaincy opportunities was the announcement that twenty theological students from eight seminaries are working in Detroit automobile factories as part of a seminar on Church Work in Industrial Communities. The seminar, led by Rev. Owen Geer, pastor of Mt. Olivet Methodist Church, Dearborn, attempts to give the students practical training in problems they will meet in ministering to industrial areas.

The first fully qualified industrial chaplains to be trained in the United States graduated from a Wheaton College (Illinois) seminar in July and are available for assignments as "doctors of morale" in industrial plants throughout the country.

The seminar, sponsored by Chaplain Counselors for Industry, Inc., a nonprofit organization for developing new techniques in industrial relations, was aimed at equipping the chaplains to cure emotional and spiritual disorders of labor and management where these factors affect plant morale, productiveness, or efficiency. The

course covered principles of industrial management, personnel administration, labor relations, and industrial applications of psychology and sociology.

The experiment at Wheaton College began two years ago, but the present class is the first to graduate. According to Ernest L. Chase, director of Chaplain Counselors for Industry, Inc., the program "has no elements of proselytizing, and is applicable alike to men and women who have been reared in Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, or other religious groups."—(*The Church Times*, September 14, 1946.)

Group Adjustment Problems Contest. The Institute of Religious and Social Studies in New York City has announced a \$2,500 prize essay contest to stimulate investigation in problems of group adjustment growing out of "tensions which may arise from differences of race, religion, nationality, or socio-economic interests."

In outlining the purpose of the contest, the Institute suggested that the contributors deal with the principles or methods by which these differences can be alleviated and "harmonious relations can be established."

The winning manuscript will be published by Harper & Brothers. Second prize will be \$500, with publication of the manuscript to be considered by the judges and Harpers.

Closing date for the competition is October 31, 1947. Manuscripts must be in English and are limited to works not heretofore published in book form either here or abroad. More than one author collaboration is permitted.—(*The Church Times*, September 24, 1946.)

Haverford College Appointment. Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Negro sociologist and author, has been appointed visiting professor of sociology at Haverford College for the coming year. His appointment, effective at once, was announced by Dr. Gilbert F. White, president of Haverford.

A graduate of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Dr. Reid holds a master of arts

degree from the University of Pittsburgh and a doctor of philosophy degree from Columbia University. He also has studied at the University of London.

He is the author of several books, including *The Negro Immigrant, In a Minor Key* and *The Urban Negro Worker in the United States*. He is associate executive director of the Southern Regional Council and a former consultant on the Social Security Board.

His appointment to the Quaker college follows several years of work with the American Friends Service Committee. He has served on the faculty of the Institutes of International Relations sponsored each summer by the Service Committee.

During the past year he appeared as a guest lecturer at several colleges in this area, among them the University of Pennsylvania, Franklin and Marshall College, and Pennsylvania State College, as well as Haverford.

Following his lectures at Haverford, *The Haverford News*, a student paper, ran an editorial suggesting that Dr. Reid be named for the position in the sociology department. "He is the kind of man we want on our faculty," the editorial said.—(From *The Philadelphia Record*, September 18, 1946.)

CARE Package Sales Hit Four-Million-Dollar Mark. Sales of packages by the Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE) have reached the four-million-dollar mark. CARE is now serving eleven countries—Norway, Netherlands, Finland, France, Poland, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and in Germany—the British and American zones of occupation, and all of Berlin. CARE is the first package agency in the United States to be able to send food parcels to the Russian zone of Berlin. CARE packages have also been sent by Y. W. C. A. groups in America to corresponding groups in France.—(From *Co-operative News Service*, New York City, New York.)

Alcohol Facts

(Continued from page 13)

a ratio of three to one; that at three cocktails his risk is increased by a ratio of five to one; that if in an evening he has had the equivalent of five or six cocktails, his chances of having an accident are increased more than fifty times. The same high authority in this field estimates that alcohol is involved in more than 60 per cent of all traffic accidents in America.

The physiological effects of alcohol have been well established by medical science. Well-known medical authorities have repeatedly pointed out the effects of moderate drinking upon the stomach lining, upon the vascular system, and upon the liver where the alcohol in the bloodstream is finally oxidized. The fact is that one person out of every four who drink is so affected by the alcohol in his system that there is medical evidence of injury. Moreover, his general resistance to disease is considerably reduced. A study made of the death records of 2,000,000 policyholders in 43 American life-insurance companies for a 20-year period tells the story. Placing the average death rate for all policyholders at 100, the rate for those who drank an average of one bottle of beer or one ounce of whisky a day was 118; the rate for those who for a period of time drank more than two glasses of beer or one ounce of whisky daily, but who at the time of insuring were abstainers, was 150; the rate for those who drank immoderately and continued to do so after insuring was 186.

The relevance of all these data is multiplied by the fact that alcohol is a habit-forming drug. The Yale studies indicate that one person in ten who drinks becomes to some extent addicted to the use of alcohol so that he is a candidate for the nightmarish disease of alcoholism.

The problem of the drunkard is confused by the fact that excessive drinking is often a symptom of neurosis. Men and

women sometimes use alcohol as an anesthetic to overcome chronic self-reproach, apprehension, and discontent. They seek in alcohol temporary relief from the burdens and fears of life. We should be grateful for such organizations as Alcoholics Anonymous which seek to rehabilitate the alcoholic by striking at the psychiatric root of his problem. The fact remains, however, that though a man may turn to drink because he is unhappy, it is alcohol, and not unhappiness, that makes him a drunkard.

If that were all that could be said on the subject, however, this article would never have been written. I would have my not-very-high opinion of the man who uses alcohol to make himself something less than the real person God means him to be. But as an ardent individualist I would affirm his right to do as he pleases with his life—so long as he does not endanger or degrade the lives of others.

And that is the crux of the alcohol problem. Our lives are intertwined so that no man lives unto himself alone. The moderate drinker takes his stand on the side of a traffic that has caused the degradation and downfall of multitudes of people. The potations of a chronic alcoholic in a Madison Street tavern are one piece with the fashionable cocktail served in a bishop's mansion. You cannot take up one end of a stick without taking up the other. I am resolutely against the liquor traffic because of its social ramifications.

The particular viciousness of alcoholism is that it affects not only its victims but their families and society as well. In 75 per cent of the divorce cases heard in Chicago's Superior Court, excessive drinking is cited as a major contributing factor. Drinking on the part of parents often contributes to the delinquency of children. Financially, the loss due to alcoholism is incalculable. Dr. Benson Y. Landis, in *Some Economic Aspects of the Alcohol Problem*, estimates that expenses for hos-

pitalization, the cost of accidents and crimes, the care of drunken persons in jails, the support of persons dependent upon alcoholics, plus potential wages lost because of alcoholism, approach a billion dollars a year. Others who have studied the problem put the estimate much higher.

I have already referred to the relationship between drinking and traffic accidents. Do you remember the fatal accident in which a carload of young people ran off a bridge near Oak Park early one morning last January? I believe that two youths lost their lives in that tragedy. The young driver of the car, who escaped uninjured, could not remember what had happened. Dr. Eugene Youngert, of the Oak Park high school, says that young people face their greatest temptation to begin to drink in their sophomore and junior years.

There are other relationships that may be noted. The number of liquor outlets in Chicago is at an all-time high—more than 9,200 of them, one for every 100 families. In 1939 the Juvenile Protective Association made an intensive survey in which investigators visited 4,188 taverns. In them they observed 21,506 violations of law. These violations included sales to drunken persons, sales to minors, indecent entertainment, solicitation for prostitution, illegal employment of minors, and the use of hostesses for the entertainment of customers. Walter Cromwell, one of the directors of this agency, reports that lawbreaking in Chicago's tavern and liquor stores is worse now than ever before, that in some blighted sections of the city conditions are unspeakably bad.

I am not alone in the opinion that these conditions could not exist apart from criminal connivance and political corruption. Listen to this paragraph from the Juvenile Protective Association's report: "The retail sale of alcoholic liquor has been and still is a boon to most of the undesirable activities and enterprises of community life; whether the tavern has

sought to ally itself with these activities or whether the activities by way of least resistance allied themselves with the tavern is not the issue. The fact is that graft, political corruption, dishonest business practices, gambling, delinquency, crime, prostitution, indecent entertainment, obscenity, immorality, and exploitation in various degrading forms are encouraged and enhanced by the tavern. It is by these devious and unsavory routes that taverns have become entrenched in the economic, political, and social life of the city."

Perhaps the casual drinker would like to say to me: "Mr. Preacher, you have the right to your opinion, and I suppose that as a minister you are bound to take the stand you do. I drink on occasion and I am not ashamed of it. I seldom drink too much and I never get intoxicated. My drinking does not endanger my life or my home. I drink for social and business reasons and no one is the worse because of it."

Well, I should like to say in reply: "You too have the right to your own opinion, but the fact is that your drinking is not so innocent as you seem to think it is. The chances are that by your drinking, even in moderation, you are injuring your health and shortening your life. But what is more important, you are influencing others to drink. A drunkard tempts no one, but multitudes are led to drink by you and your kind who drink moderately for social and business reasons. You are the major factor in the alarming increase in drinking in this country. And possibly your influence is helping to break up a home or ruin a life. I should hate to be a part of the liquor problem which has become in America a major source of human woe. If I were in your place, I would turn about and become part of the solution." My friends, we have temporized with the alcohol problem long enough. Let every Christian make his decision and take his stand on the side of temperance and sobriety.

Personal Adjustment

(Continued from page 19)

A neatly dressed and intelligent-looking Negro woman found standing room on a bus. This standing room was beside a white woman who was sitting. The sitting passenger said, "Move, don't stand over me." The Negro woman sarcastically said: "Isn't this something? We cook for you, we rear you, and when you grow up, you don't want us near you." The woman kept her standing place, knowing that she was equal to the clean and intelligent person of any race. The maladjustment in this particular instance is somewhat peculiar when we think of the words "cook" and "rear."

This personality adjustment of which I speak is handed down in a number of ways. The ways are too numerous to name here. It is passed along by some maladjusted white or Negro parent. I was holding onto the back of a seat as I stood in a bus. A little boy sitting with his white parent put his hand on my black skin. Immediately the parent said, "Don't put your hand on that!" This child was beginning early to make his adjustment by learning that the skin of different color had the same feel as his. The child's parent was maladjusted in life, no doubt having been so from the day his parent first said, under similar circumstances, "Don't touch that!" The parent did not know that the black hand had shaken warmly many white hands, and that its possessor had thought nothing of it, except in the terms a hand-shake conveys.

In terms of personal maladjustment in human relationships, there is the opportunity of classifying many who sit in the

chambers of government, and those who stay at home and bellow the idea of race supremacy, as "sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." It is disheartening to see them, in the agony of this maladjustment, write the laws that govern human relations. It is forgetting the cautioning words of God, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." No laws, no bellowing, can stop the fulfillment of a divine purpose, but one or many can destroy themselves by attempting to retard its certain coming. How can man with his great universities think he can stop the fulfillment of a divine purpose and law? It is interesting to see these maladjusted personalities attempting to escape the reality of adjustment by proclaiming it a race problem or Negro problem. "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

The problem of adjustment is common to the white and black man. Under the present order, as compared with the Negro, the white man has more materially, and a greater opportunity. Yet it appears that he is bothered much more in making his adjustment to life. His maladjustment slows his progress as he takes time to look in on the adjustment the Negro is making. If the adjustment is too progressive, a stumbling block is thrown in the way. To know that the welfare of each individual has its influence in one's final adjustment in life is a great blessing in itself.

To help the white man to hasten his adjustment so that both races can stand united in one family, and having knowledge of the will of God in every avenue of human endeavor, the Negro is patient and vigilant, studying and working in spite of the many handicaps.

The shortest and surest way to live with honor in the world is to be in reality what we would appear to be; and, if we observe, we shall find that all human virtues increase and strengthen themselves by the practice and experience of them.

Anon.

About Books

Man and Society in the New Testament, by Ernest F. Scott. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

Dr. Scott, with mature scholarship, goes a long way toward resolving the dilemma of Christian teaching and experience as he delineates man the individual, the unique person, and man the product of social forces. This book helps to answer the question which sincere followers of the Master have asked over and over again: How can one "come out from among them, and be . . . separate" and at the same time discharge that responsibility which membership in any group places upon one? By constant statement of the unique phases of religion which Jesus revealed, the author shows how Christ actually fulfilled the Law and the Prophets by his never-failing recognition of the divine in all men, and by pointing out through his words and acts that human relations are the testing ground for the true religion.

Over and over again the reader finds modern scholarship at its best stating in our own terms what the disciples felt so keenly: "Neither is there salvation in any other." This reviewer cannot agree with those who maintain that Dr. Scott has given us a book which takes away the community side of Christianity and leaves only the personal. He does state, and gives convincing evidence, that "the ethic of Jesus is not, at the heart of it, social." But he also insists, not once but in every instance where this issue appears, that "Jesus recognized, AS NO ONE HAD DONE BEFORE, that men are dependent at every point on one another." Indeed he goes farther to state that this distinction, created by misunderstanding, is foreign to the true Gospel. "Later interpreters have been in doubt as to whether the religion of Jesus was social or purely personal, but for himself this difficulty did

not exist." Again and again the reader comes upon such terms as "the new," "the distinctive," "the different." Always these terms point out the fact that in Christianity we have a revealed way, the only truth, and valid life. In a sense Dr. Scott points out that Jesus did more than fulfill the Law and the Prophets. While he says, by way of further emphasizing the unique part of Jesus' revelation, that "there was no other religion but that of Israel which could possibly have given birth to Christianity," he also clearly gives evidence that Jesus' religion was not merely a natural development from the religion of the Old Testament, but was rather, as Paul found it to be, "something which did not exist before."

So one might go on with quotation after quotation from the rich chapters on "The Principles of Jesus' Teaching," "The Christian Community," "Personality in the New Testament" in repetition of this same theme. In addition much light, with fine historical perspective, is thrown on the Church, the doctrine of original sin, conversion, growth of Christian personality, and the true nature of progress, all leading to the author's conclusion that "this recognition of a value in every man is the distinctive thing in the religion of Jesus." Dr. Scott's book is what the title leads one to expect: it is a treatment of man and society from the New Testament standpoint. The author stays by the Scripture.

JOHN C. WHITE

The Science of Man in the World Crisis, edited by Ralph Linton. Columbia University Press. \$4.00.

Within the space of a short review it is possible to do little more than outline the contents of a book which covers as much territory as this. The editor is professor of anthropology at Columbia and associate

at the American Museum of Natural History. The various papers making up the book are contributed by some twenty distinguished anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, etc., connected with leading American universities and Government services.

The editor in the introductory paper on "The Scope and Aims of Anthropology" broadly defines his field as "the science of man and his works" and establishes the relation of the various subsiences, such as linguistics, archaeology, ethnology. Noting the fact that in recent years anthropology has begun to invade the field of applied science, he declares that the crying need of the present is for synthesis of knowledge which the specialists in the various fields have accumulated.

Professor Shapiro, of Columbia, contributes a paper on "Society and Biological Man" in which he discusses the effects of racial mixtures. Professor Wilton Marion Krogman, of the University of Chicago and the Chicago Natural History Museum, writing on "The Concept of Race" concludes that "biologically there are no fundamental physical differences in all stocks and in all races" and "the march to equality is on." Otto Klineberg, of Columbia, follows this with the conclusion that there is no "racial psychology" and that any hope of making democracy broader and more efficient rests "not so much on an improvement in our 'stock' as on making available to the whole community the educational and economic opportunities which pave the way for fuller and richer living."

The editor contributes a very discerning paper on "Present World Conditions" in which he traces three fundamental mutations in human history which have had far-reaching and long-enduring consequences. We are only beginning to see the consequences of the third of these—the ability to release power from fuel and the use of the scientific method.

Howard A. Meyerhoff, professor of

geology at Smith College, writes a very enlightening paper on "The Present State of World Resources," showing the probable effects on industrialization of the concentration of supplies of coal, oil, water power, minerals, food, etc. Karl Sax, professor of botany at Harvard, contributes a fact-crammed paper on "Population Problems," one conclusion being that the differential in the birth rate between the economically privileged and unprivileged results unfavorably for individual or national development.

Julian H. Steward, of the Smithsonian Institution, contributes a paper on "The Changing American Indian," and Samuel Gamio, director of the Inter-American Indian Institute of Mexico, writes on "Some Considerations of Indianist Policy." The former, dealing largely with the Indian in Latin America, seems especially valuable.

"The Colonial Crisis and the Future," contributed by Raymond Kennedy, of the Department of Sociology of Yale, reviews the common features of colonialism and compares and contrasts the attitudes of the imperial powers, especially Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States.

Professor Keesing, of Stanford University, discusses "Applied Anthropology in Colonial Administration," and Professor Louis Wirth, of the University of Chicago, writes with discernment on "The Problem of Minority Groups."

Carl C. Taylor, of the Department of Agriculture, contributes a paper on "Techniques of Community Study and Analysis as Applied to Modern Civilized Societies," and Professor John Dollard, of Yale, discusses "The Acquisition of New Social Habits." Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Genevieve Knupfer deal with "Communications Research and International Cooperation," especially in the area of movies, radio, and newspapers. Grayson Kirk, professor of government at Columbia, concludes the book with a paper on "Na-

tionalism, Internationalism, and War." A full index adds to the value of the book.

A final question that will not down: Can a book on the science of man which contains only occasional passing references to religion be regarded as truly "scientific"?

GEORGE W. KIEHL

The Christian Heritage in America, by George Hedley. The Macmillan Company. \$2.00.

For the layman who is asking, "Why so many denominations?" here is an effective answer in the brief space of 172 pages, with a chapter devoted to each of the following groups in the religious life of America: the Jews, Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Liberal Christians, and Revivalists.

In dealing with each group the author gives a brief account of its origin, the life and work of the founder, and its major contributions to the Christian tradition particularly in America. Dr. Hedley is at pains to state the case of each in the best light possible, emphasizing the many things held in common.

The author seems most at home when writing of the Methodist and Episcopal contributions. Though he treats each group with great fairness and sympathy, Presbyterian readers may question whether he understands accurately the doctrine of total depravity, and will scarcely agree with him when he suggests that they fail to present the love of God adequately. Although his sympathies are undoubtedly with the "liberal Christians," his discussion of the Revivalists of the "Fundamentalist" wing is as fair a summing up of strength and weakness as could be desired. "The real choice of the future," he wisely concludes, "is not between historic Christianity and the aberrant sects, but rather between a living Christianity and an unrelieved secularism."

Unfortunately Dr. Hedley deems it necessary to dissociate the Christ of the Church from the historic Jesus of Nazareth. "Not a series of episodes in first-century Palestine, but a continuity of experience throughout the centuries, gave reality to the conviction that God indeed might be found in the life of man." Finally, he sets forth his idea of "The Church of the Future," which is based not so much on union of structure as unity of spirit.

The main body of the book is well done. The reviewer is not acquainted with any book of equal size which will give so much information about the main streams in the Christian heritage in American life.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

An Enemy of the People: Antisemitism, by James Parkes. Penguin Books, Inc. 25 cents.

Like many others I have read numerous articles and books on antisemitism, but this is the first treatment that I have found to be as adequate and profound as the complexity and seriousness of the problem demand.

For the first time after reading the author's chapter on "The Psychology and Sociology of Antisemitism," I felt that I had gained a little understanding of the deeper roots of anti-Jewish prejudice. In the final chapter there is a thorough analysis of the Palestine problem in relation to international commitments of the past, and in relation to the plight of European Jews.

In earlier chapters Parkes sketches and analyzes the rise of antisemitism in European countries and its use as a political device, the "trial of a new weapon." No reader will miss the striking similarity between those mild forms of genteel antisemitism which grew into a storm of hate and violence that brought death to six million Jews, and the attitudes and discriminatory practices which are steadily increasing in America.

N.E.K.

The United Nations

*By Louis Dolivet **

THE aftermath of war is never beautiful. The present postwar period is harder to bear than that which followed the first world war. For the destruction and the losses in human lives are more terrible; famine has come to stay in many parts of the world; the seeds of suspicion among countries and hatred among men that were planted in the inter-war period have grown.

This is the world in which the young United Nations—the idea of which was born during and because of the war—had to make its first groping steps.

From the day the United Nations came into being it was constantly faced with emergencies resulting from events that had happened before it was created. Instead of being able to undertake the gigantic task of building a peaceful world, in the atmosphere of calm and confidence indispensable to long-range planning, the United Nations inherited all the conflicting problems that

victory did not solve. Cordell Hull, as early as 1943, counted thirty areas of conflict, and this already considerable number has since increased. If we add to these all the ideological and economic conflicts, and the unavoidable clashes of temperament between peoples whose nerves have been strained by long years of war, we get a clearer image of the situation faced by the United Nations.

The Charter

The only instrument it has at its disposal to cope with such a tragic situation is the charter.

In the final analysis, the charter refers the solution of every economic, social, human rights, and educational problem back to the individual national state for approval, in the same way as it refers action on security matters back to the Big Five for approval. And yet neither the individual state nor any of the Big Five is the final arbiter of the United Nations, for all the member states are bound by its principles and purposes, which are: the maintenance of international peace and security; the well-being of humanity; respect for

* Author, lecturer, international editor of *Free World*, and roving correspondent of the *New York Post*. Condensation from Louis Dolivet's *The United Nations*, published by Farrar, Straus and Company. Used with permission of publisher and author.

We regret that in November SOCIAL PROGRESS the announcement of Dr. Poling's arrival erroneously stated that "he leaves behind him in El Paso a Church of approximately 13,000 communicant members." The number of members should have read "1,300."

human rights; and fundamental freedoms for all.

Up to now many Governments—and, for that matter, their peoples too—have not realized the full impact of the document they have signed and ratified and of the organization of which they have become members. No Government has even begun to look carefully at its own constitutional and governmental practices to see whether they conform to the principles of the charter which it has solemnly pledged itself to uphold.

To many Governments the whole United Nations is still something outside of their own lives. It is still an ideal on a pedestal, which they regard with admiration but which remains unrelated to the everyday problems of each country.

Yet slowly the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and their various Commissions, are beginning to attract the attention of the Governments and the peoples of the United Nations. Already each session of the organs of the United Nations has become a major international political event.

Whether one likes it or not, the fact remains that the United Nations is in existence, and that all the problems of our time are brought before it. No one can stop even the smallest countries from making their voices heard. No one can bar public opinion from discussing and com-

menting upon these issues. The United Nations has become, within a few short months, the most public of governmental institutions. Its international character makes it impossible for it to keep its activities secret, or to isolate itself from contact with world public opinion.

Isolated issues that are being brought before the United Nations are slowly fitting themselves into the overall global picture in which interrelations become more apparent. It becomes clearer that security and economic well-being, individual freedom and high educational standards, are part of one and the same pattern; it becomes clearer that no country will be able to cheat the United Nations for any length of time, i.e., try to get out of it all the advantages without making any sacrifices to it.

Rarely in history has an inter-governmental organization, right from its inception, been subject to so many contradictory interpretations and evaluations as has the United Nations. Immediately the principles of the San Francisco charter became known in the various parts of the world, statesmen and commentators, political leaders and plain citizens, were divided into pro or anti United Nations groups. The first, and larger, groups contended that at last an organization capable of continuing the wartime unity of the Allies into the peace had been created; the second insisted that the

maintenance of absolute national sovereignty and the veto provisions would make it impossible for the organization to function as the principal peace-maintaining machinery of humanity. Between these two extremes there are innumerable interpretations of the United Nations as a transitional instrument for an effective world organization. Suggestions are being made to transform the United Nations into a global parliament, to amend the charter immediately, while others warn against undue haste and the danger of abandoning national privileges.

Structure and Purpose

What actually is the United Nations?

The United Nations is an organization of sovereign states which have agreed to join their efforts in order to maintain international peace, to co-operate on the solution of economic, social, and cultural problems of international importance, and to promote human rights for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Does this mean that there can never be another war? It simply means that those countries which have come together are going to make every effort to prevent or remove threats to peace, and they have established a detailed procedure as to how their fundamental aims can best be achieved.

This is not the first attempt at

making war illegal. In 1928 the Kellogg-Briand Pact declared war illegal as an instrument of national policy, and yet that did not stop World War II. No independent country is willing to renounce its right to make war in self-defense, and therefore the important thing is to provide for collective measures to make aggression impossible, or to thwart it as soon as it starts. The important innovation in the present United Nations structure is the collective attempt to create a political, economic, and military machine powerful enough to make it unnecessary for any country to be in a position where it has to wage war in self-defense. Furthermore, the United Nations provides for various stages of conciliation, arbitration, and other means of peaceful settlement so as not to let any aggressor benefit by the pretext of self-defense.

One could argue that, by and large, the old League of Nations was based on a similar concept. However, it must be kept in mind that the United Nations is potentially and actually much stronger than the League of Nations, that its fifty-one nations rule over nine tenths of the inhabitable earth, and that the United Nations is backed by their armies, their wealth, and their scientific resources. It is almost self-evident that no would-be aggressor, however powerful, would ever dare defy such a gigantic combina-

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Labor's Power in International Affairs *

The following report presents an analysis of the influence of organized labor on politics thus far and points to trends that have a direct bearing on the conduct of world affairs.

THE workingman has emerged from the war well aware of his political powers. This awareness comes from his wartime experience. In the victor nations, the representatives of labor sat with Government to increase production without which great armies would have been helpless in the field. Industrial capacity now is a gauge of military might.

In the defeated nations, the first to step forward with a claim to leadership were the representatives of the workers. Through the war they had heard American, British, and Russian labor leaders speak to them by radio of the advantages of free labor and democratic methods. As the war ended, the occupying powers encouraged free organization of the workers, eager to avail themselves of any opportunity to get the worker back to the factory and the farmer back to the land.

What the worker wants for himself and his family is food, shelter, and a share of those consumer goods available at a price he can pay. When his family is fed and housed, the worker also may list security

against want and against war as his long-term objectives.

To attain these objectives, the worker is entering politics, sometimes hastily, with little thought of anything save his own hunger, sometimes carefully, with an awareness of the national responsibilities involved in this course.

Democratic Governments look to labor in politics for support of the democratic methods that give the worker freedom to organize. Governments that are not democratic are using varied methods to organize labor under their own leadership. Both recognize labor's power in politics.

National Objectives

The "heartland" of labor's political action lies geographically, as well as ideologically, between the United States and Russia. The American Federation of Labor still champions the craft unions, which shun direct action in politics. Industrial unions in Russia pool their membership into a single organization, which in theory maintains its independence for political action, but which in practice has become an instrument of government. Between these two types of organizations are

* Reprinted from *World Report*, October 8, 1946, an independent weekly magazine on world affairs, published at Washington, D. C. Copyright, 1946, United States News Publishing Corporation. Used with permission.

varying other forms of labor groups now engaging in politics.

Most of the world's workers are engaged in politics through industrial unions. Even in the United States the Congress of Industrial Organizations, rival of the A.F. of L., has established a Political Action Committee to swing the workers' votes to the candidates it "approves."

In Britain, representatives of the trade-unions have shared with Government since 1940 the responsibilities of mobilizing labor for production. As war ended, the workers put the Labor Party into office to guarantee a continuation of the workers' voice in the country's affairs. Under this Government, the trend in Britain is from craft unions toward large industrial unions, although the transition is by no means complete.

The workers' political activity on the European continent is complicated by a battle between Communists and Socialists over labor leadership. In general, it may be said that the Communists tend to view labor as an instrument of their workers' party while the Socialists advocate an independent movement of labor that may co-operate with political parties but need not fuse with them. This rivalry in Western Europe tends to curb the Communist leadership of many unions.

Scandinavia has swung with little difficulty back into state socialism, in which the trade-unions play an important part. In both Belgium and

Holland, the workers succeeded in wresting the leadership of their unions back from a Communist minority that took over during the war. France and Italy have become the laboratories where labor's political ambitions are put to the test.

Frenchmen accepted Communist discipline and Communist aggressiveness in the leadership of their underground war against the Germans. When war ended, the record of the Communists gave them an equal standing with Socialists in the directorate of the General Confederation of Labor. Labor discipline kept strikes down to the category of brief demonstrations that wasted little production time. Now, revolts against Communist leadership are beginning to sweep through the rank and file, bursting out in strikes by Government employees. No Government can stand in France without the support of united labor, but the danger to labor and to the nation now lies in a Communist-Socialist struggle for leadership.

Labor's entry into Italian politics is stormy and costly, for the Italian worker seeks wages that will buy him bread in a poor country made poorer by fascism, war, and the consequences of defeat. Communists are gaining control of unions by leading wildcat strikes started by the hungry rank and file. In Italy, as in France, no democratic Government can long survive without the support of organized labor. But the question

in Italy is whether organized labor is to remain independent or is to drift into the arms of political leaders who will capitalize on the workers' hunger and seek political gain for themselves or for their parties rather than for labor.

On the fringe of Russia's zone of influence, non-Communist workers must co-operate with Communist unions if they are to survive. Within those countries completely dominated by Russia, there is little freedom for labor. Almost the only way the worker can participate in politics is through the local Communist party. But all satellite Governments are committed to giving the worker the lion's share of what goods and food can be spared for national consumption.

World Strategy

The increasing importance of organized labor as a factor in national politics has not gone unobserved by the powers in conflict over world politics. All Russian diplomats are coached in labor organization before they are sent abroad. Since 1943, the British have had a labor attaché assigned to their embassy in Washington. Last year, the U. S. State Department created a Labor Relations Division, which now has twenty-three representatives outside the United States watching labor trends.

The task of these representatives is reportorial. But, in Germany,

other United States experts on labor are matching their wits with Russians as part of the struggle to control Germany. It was agreed by the Allied Control Council in Berlin last June that:

"1. The trade-unions [of Germany] must be developed and organized on a democratic basis.

"2. The organization of trade-union federations must result from the freely expressed desires of union membership."

The same directive, signed by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and France, provided that "the pace of development of trade-unions zonal federations shall be determined by the appropriate zone commander when he is satisfied there exists a real desire among trade-union members to federate."

The result of such directives is that the military commander of each zone is interpreting the restrictions on the organization of German workers pretty much as he pleases.

The Russians, in their zone, are sponsoring a single union for all workers. Most of the 2,600,000 persons now organized in the Russian zone are under Communist leadership. Union membership is virtually compulsory, and discipline is strict. Russia looks to this organization to give German Communists a head start on political competitors when zonal barriers are dropped.

(Continued on page 26)

Color in the World Scene

*By Buell G. Gallagher **

THE presence of color in the world scene gives to the dilemmas of domestic concern a global scope and importance.

The Character of Color Caste

In recent years, the concept of caste has come to be used by American sociologists in the study of race relations. A whole school of social analysts has grown up around Professor Lloyd Warner, of the University of Chicago, using the double matrix of class patterns in social analysis.

In the past decade, it has become common, even in nonacademic circles, to hear American race relations referred to as a caste system. Some meticulous writers prefer to say that, while it is not strictly analogous to the caste system of (for example) India, it does exhibit most of the features of a caste pattern. In any case, the phrase is one which is sufficiently accurate for our purposes here. It speaks directly and simply of one of the major phenomena of American society.

A century ago, it was men of religion who first began to use the term

that social scientists now find convenient. The American Missionary Association, for example, was founded in 1846 for the avowed purpose of attacking "in all heathen lands, the sins of slave-holding, polygamy, and caste." Abolitionists were particularly fond of the term, because it conveyed both a sociological description and a moral judgment.

Our American racial caste system has its historical roots in slavery, but thrusts its contemporary tentacles into every crevice and cranny of the social structure throughout the nation. Slavery as ownership of chattel is gone; as a caste system, it remains. Its purpose is to keep non-whites in a position which, in one way or another, is inferior or subordinate to that of whites. Its devices range from lynchings and mob violence, at one extreme, through legal enactment and extralegal manipulations of courts and police, to custom and etiquette as instruments of caste control.

Generally speaking, the attitudes of whites, ranging from friendly paternalism to hatred and hostility, tend to recognize a caste status in which all whites are in one way or another superior to all Negroes, who in turn must in no respect be superior to any whites; while the re-

* Professor of Christian Ethics, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California. Reprinted from *Color and Conscience*. Copyright, 1946, by Harper & Brothers. Used by permission of the publisher and the author. A review of *Color and Conscience* appears on page 30 of the current issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

ciprocal attitudes which Negroes must assume in order to survive in a caste-controlled society tend to recognize this subordinate status.

The attitudes of caste become generalized into stereotypes which are passed from person to person and group to group, in time actually coming to have an almost independent force and power of their own. Ideas then control action. Race attitudes in contemporary America are formed not so much through contacts with other races as through contact with prevailing race attitudes. The individual learns to react to the symbols of race in terms of the patterns of caste, and dynamically in terms of the caste struggle. He does not ordinarily bring these beliefs under critical analysis. Through the acceptance of stereotypes, ready-made beliefs, the individual forms his racial attitudes.

The World Scene

The caste system is an established part of American culture, with clear legal and social definitions in the South, but with general characteristics of similarity in all parts of the nation. This is the caste system that confronts and confuses the Christian conscience. This is the social subsoil of our dilemmas.

Acting and thinking as though he were a majority, the Caucasian is a minority group in the world's population. The best available estimates of population show:

Eastern Asiatics	600,000,000
Brown Asiatics	610,000,000
Negroes	140,000,000
Indians and Mestizos	60,000,000
Total nonwhite	1,410,000,000
White	740,000,000
World total	2,150,000,000

The Caucasian is outnumbered in the present population of the world—two to one. When the American white man speaks of the problems of minorities, he is seldom conscious that he is actually speaking about himself and his own problems. Yet, both in size and in performance, the Caucasian rates a position as the world's first minority problem.

The Caucasian minority has a majority psychology. Either in ignorance of his minority world status or in spite of it, the Caucasian feels that he owns the world and all the lesser peoples in it. He adduces concrete evidence to support his feeling. He has thrown the girdles of commerce and trade around the globe, planted outposts of financial and political empire (with the necessary military backing) in its remotest quarters, and built the cultural outposts which, supported by power politics and a show of military and naval strength, have given him a position of dominance from which he looks down upon the subjugated peoples in much the same manner as a feudal lord was accustomed to survey his vassals from his castle. The Caucasian has a majority psychology.

It was not until the turning of the

present century that a nonwhite people challenged the dominance of the white world in language which the whole nonwhite world understood. Czarist Russia was then thought of as a "white" power, although her great, sprawling hegemony from the Baltic to the Pacific included more than one hundred ethnic, racial, and national groups over which a comparatively small number of Russians ruled. And amongst the pigmented peoples of the world, the fact that Japan successfully challenged "white" Russia in the arena of modern warfare as the new century began is, even to this day, a burning beacon of immense significance. When Japan in 1932 entered Manchuria, there was no great stir amongst the colored peoples of the world outside of China; but when Mussolini, a little later, marched into Ethiopia, the Negro press of the United States followed each development of the unevenly matched campaign with a withering fire of excoriating denunciation—a sharp contrast to its apathy over Japan's aggression on the Asiatic mainland. White aggression against a colored nation in Africa was deeply resented by colored peoples in other parts of the world, while the despoiling of one colored nation by another scarcely caused a ripple on the surface of the colored world.

This antagonism of the colored peoples toward domination by the white is seen not only in minorities

within the United States, but in all quarters of the globe. One of India's most moderate and reputable spokesmen, Krishnalal Shridharani, cautiously and mildly states the essence of a bold thesis when he contrasts the attitude of Indian minorities toward the British Raj in the last century and at present:

"In the beginning it was the realization that the British had come to stay which had prompted the minorities to jump on the British bandwagon. Now it was the realization that the nationalists will not allow the British to stay much longer which changed their attitude."¹

The British know that this is the case, just as the Indians know that the British know it, and the British know that the Indians know that they know it. It is the openest secret of all open secrets.

The British know that if the colored peoples of India are ever united against them, the day of the white man's empire in the Indian subcontinent is at an end.

Similar expressions of a determination to be rid of white domination could be adduced from leading thinkers and writers in every nonwhite portion of the globe, which is most of it. The argument that appears to the writer to be axiomatic in present world conditions is: The colored peoples of the world aspire

¹ "Minorities and the Autonomy of India," in *Group Relations and Group Antagonisms*, edited by R. H. MacIver, p. 204. Harper & Brothers, 1944.

to a position of freedom from white control and to acceptance in a position of equality. They will endure white domination as long as it is physically necessary to do so, and not one moment longer. The 1.4 billion pigmented peoples of the world do not want, and will accept only under duress, the continuing domination of the .7 billion whites.

The Demands of Conscience

The general quandaries shared by all white men are greatly increased for that fraction of the Caucasian group which seriously intends to follow the demands of conscience. The Christian faith is color blind. Every great affirmation of Christianity cries out against distinction drawn between people on the basis of skin pigmentation. It is not in response to the Christian conscience that we erect color bars and build racial caste systems. It is not in the Bible, nor in the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, nor in the great creeds of Christendom, that we find support for the dogma of white supremacy.

We have only to let our faith speak for itself, and its precise formulation, whether in a particular creed, a theological system or a churchly tradition, is a matter of real importance to Christian people, as the controversies of nineteen centuries testify. But there are wide areas of fundamental agreement in all branches of Christendom; and in

these areas of ethical understanding, the Christian conscience speaks a consistent and insistent word to condemn color caste unequivocally—in the name of justice and brotherhood.

Either God is the Father of all men or he is not. If we say he is not, we deny the Christian God and resort to some lesser pagan god of tribe or clan or race. That is what Hitler commanded his followers to do. That is what Jesus did not command his followers to do. If we accept the Fatherhood of God, we must accept the brotherhood of man; and if we deny the responsibility of brotherhood, then, like Cain, we go out from the presence of the Lord.

The Job of the Churches

In this whole matter, there is a special responsibility for the Churches—local Churches, regional and state conferences, national bodies.

We have done much bold speaking, resolving, and talking. The record clearly commits us to an unrelenting, unremitting, kindly but insistent and indefatigable struggle for "equal and unsegregated opportunity." We know what we ought to do. If we try to implement these affirmations, and fail, we shall at least have made the effort to do what we clearly know is the will of God in our generation. If we try and succeed, we bring the whole family of God within the circle of brotherhood. That is where we belong.

The Church and the Alcoholic

*By Thomas Franklyn Hudson **

MY MINISTRY began in the city of San Diego, in California. It was before the days of the last war when San Diego was principally known as a "Navy town." A major section of the membership of our Church consisted of active and retired Navy and Marine officers. I discovered that military men were as consistent in Church attendance—if not more so—than civilians.

Early in my ministry, however, I became acquainted with a recurring phenomenon in the lives of many of these men. The Navy in those days retired men after a certain number of years in service with ample retirement pay to take care of themselves and their families. Many of these men, although not old in years, had served at least twenty years at sea. They looked forward to retirement, living once more in a private house with wife and children.

But, while the father was at sea, the wife and children had become accustomed to his absence. The wife learned to carry responsibilities without him and the children went to school and carried on their domestic chores without the benefit of a father. So when father retired and came home to stay, it created a problem of adjustment. In many

cases, this adjustment was made admirably. In other cases, especially when the wife did not prepare herself and her children for it, the adjustment was difficult and, in a few cases, tragic. The returned husband became a problem to the family. Somehow or other, he became a problem to himself also, for things were not as he had dreamed they would be. After the first few weeks, his wife did not seem to have the same enthusiasm for his presence. The children were noisy. He did not know what to do with his time. So, in many cases, either as an escape mechanism or for the want of something better to do, he began drinking excessively.

Usually it was the wife who came to the pastor. This was not the way she had envisioned his retirement, either. She too had looked forward eagerly to his home-coming, but everything had gone wrong. He was exceedingly sensitive, extremely irritable, excessively demanding, and he drank far, far too much. What should be done? Then he came in to see the pastor. His retirement ideals had been shattered completely. He knew that he drank too much. But no one was considerate of his feelings. The modern generation was completely selfish.

In several cases such men had done

* Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon.

heavy drinking before their retirement, but they were not alcoholics. But the failure to adjust to retirement was often the last straw that made the transition from social drinkers to compulsive drinkers. How was a young pastor to handle the situation? What was he to do? What was he to advise?

In my own case, I had received no training for the handling of such problems. My seminary, McCormick, was a good one, but I had received no training to prepare me to give wise counsel to these people. As a result, I made many blunders and the effectiveness of my ministry to alcoholics was practically nil.

Since those days I have learned many things about alcohol and alcoholism. I have learned that there are some 50,000,000 Americans who use alcoholic beverages. Of these, there are 750,000 chronic alcoholics. This is a small percentage out of the total—less than 2 per cent, it is true—but the number is increasing steadily. Counting hospitalization and the loss of work, the economic cost of alcoholism has been set at over one billion dollars annually. Public health authorities in Portland, Oregon, my present pastorate, tell me that they consider alcoholism to be a serious challenge to the public health program and that it is America's number three health problem today. Moreover, alcoholism is no respecter of persons, and strikes, those of all classes, races, and creeds.

So today I am not completely bewildered when an alcoholic walks into my study. I have learned some things not to do. I have learned not to censure or lecture, for, you see, I know that the alcoholic is a truly sick person. He is just as sick as is the person with pneumonia or tuberculosis. I would not think of starting out by lecturing a tubercular patient on the evils and dangers of tuberculosis. Similarly, I must not make that approach to the alcoholic. I usually begin by letting him "talk himself out." Then I ask him if he really wants help. Almost always, he will reply in the affirmative. Sometimes he says it seems hopeless, but in practically every case he will want further explanation.

It so happens that in Portland we have two very active chapters of Alcoholics Anonymous. I have a list in my desk of the names and telephone numbers of about twenty-five men and women whom I can call at any hour of the day or night and know positively that they will be in my study in from five to fifteen minutes. These men and women are evangelists—but in a specialized sense. One is a medical doctor, another is a salesman, a third is a member of the sheriff's office staff. They are all alcoholics; but they are "dry alcoholics." The members of Alcoholics Anonymous say, "Once an alcoholic, always an alcoholic"; but just as the diabetic can control his diabetes by abstinence from sugar,

so the alcoholic can control his alcoholism by abstinence from liquor. These Alcoholics Anonymous know the problem of the alcoholic from every angle. They can duplicate his experiences in their own lives. They "talk his language."

When the Alcoholics Anonymous member arrives in the minister's study, the first reaction of the original visitor is one of great surprise that the minister has called in such a person. Somehow or other, this was not what he expected. He had braced himself with a couple of drinks for a stern lecture or a fervent prayer. This procedure has him puzzled! The members of Alcoholics Anonymous are universally a happy set. They laugh and joke. They listen to the poor fellow's recital of his troubles and come back with "one better." Before long the Alcoholic Anonymous is *en rapport* with the other alcoholic. He invites him to the next meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous, which in our city is always that night, for there is a meeting arranged for every evening in the week.

At the meeting the alcoholic has explained to him for the first time the "Twelve Steps," which is the basic program of Alcoholics Anonymous. He hears the testimony from the lips of others as to how they have been transformed from drunkards to sober citizens by following this program. He is placed under the "sponsorship" of one of the senior mem-

bers of the organization. After he has been "dry" for six months he is admitted to full membership, and he is immediately set to work upon another alcoholic.

One of the recurring patterns that I have noted in those who become members of Alcoholics Anonymous is that in practically every case they become affiliated with a Church. However, Church membership does not precede sobriety; it follows it. Or perhaps it should be said that it is an accompaniment of sobriety. When one understands the program of Alcoholics Anonymous, this is not difficult to comprehend; for one of the tenets of the organization is that the alcoholic is powerless in himself and of himself to stop drinking. He must, therefore, invoke the aid of a higher power. Therefore prayer is a part of the Alcoholics Anonymous program. It is true that all creeds and no creeds are to be found within its membership. But the experience of this pastor is that several members of his flock are "dry alcoholics," and except for the co-operation and evangelistic fervor of Alcoholics Anonymous they would not be within the fold. Moreover, they are never "nominal" Church members, but are into all activities, and their enthusiasm for the work of the Kingdom is a tonic to all of us.

If this article enriches the understanding of some of its readers and stimulates them to greater interest, it will serve its purpose.

Stabilization of Family Life

By Clifford R. Adams*

EACH year about 1,000,000 family units in this country are adversely affected by bereavement, separation, desertion, and divorce. In 1942, the greatest number of marriages in our history was recorded. In 1945, the divorce rate approximated one third the marriage rate.

Other symptoms of family instability are juvenile delinquency, the abortion rate, and the rejection of parenthood by many married couples.

Some increase in juvenile delinquency was noted during the war. Part of this was undoubtedly due to wartime employment of many mothers. Many authorities in marriage and the family fear that inadequate parental supervision during the war may bring an unprecedented wave of delinquency in the decade 1950-1960.

Unless something interrupts or modifies the trends that have been in the making for many years, we can expect (a) a divorce rate of 50 per cent in all marriages; (b) a decreasing birth rate and still smaller families; (c) increasing competition between men and women for jobs with more married women working full time; (d) a sharp rise in juvenile delinquency; (e) a single stand-

ard of morality with present male standards becoming the norm.

Research into human relationships has not kept pace with that in technical fields. The causal factors contributing to family instability have not been isolated. Schools and colleges throughout the world spend tremendous amounts of money on chemical, physical, and engineering research, but only a pittance is provided for research into human happiness.

Many of our communities are characterized by hidebound traditions and customs. Few of these communities afford adequate, if any, social and recreational facilities that promote the meeting and association of young people. There are no trained counseling resources to which people may turn for help with their personal problems and marital difficulties.

Any program that will modify present trends must be both preventive and remedial; and tangible results cannot be expected in less than one generation. Even though little can be done with parents of today, much can be done for their children and still more for their grandchildren. Our educational system is the major medium through which this problem must be approached. The need for stabilizing family life must

* Director, Marriage Counseling Service; senior author, *How to Pick a Mate*.

be recognized by the school, the Church, and other community agencies.

The first step to be taken is the modernization of our educational system from the first grade in elementary school to the postgraduate work of our universities. Since it is unlikely that more than one fourth of those children attending high school will ever enter college, our program of education for family life must be centered in the public schools.

Some of our present courses should be modified greatly or else eliminated. Much of the subject matter in physical science, in foreign languages, and in mathematics deserves no place in our schools. Specialized units in how to study, how to make friends, how to budget time and money, how to be a worthy home member, and how to use leisure time might well be incorporated in the curriculum. Every girl should receive training in cooking, sewing, housekeeping, preparation for marriage, and child care. Every boy should be given instruction in repairing household appliances, in common business law, in being a good husband and father.

Every school should have a trained counselor to whom students could turn for help in solving their personal problems.

The community organizations working together should develop low-cost housing and eliminate

slums. Adequate and reasonably priced medical care should be provided. Supervised playgrounds for young children and recreational facilities for teen-agers could grow out of the co-operation of the school and the community.

The Churches have an important role in helping to stabilize the family, but their ministers and officials need a more positive program. Does the Church have a youth canteen which brings its young people together in a socially approved setting? Does it have a library of worth-while books to which its membership can turn for guidance in the everyday affairs of life, as well as for spiritual uplift? Does it conduct study courses with young people and with adults, including parents, that offer realistic approaches to problems of marriage and parenthood? Does it have a counselor to whom people can turn when troubled?

Many of our national organizations in the field of education, psychology, medicine, business, and religion have tremendous prestige and power. If they would join hands, a Federal Department of Family Security could be established to study the needs of the family and promote legislation based upon those needs.

The time for action is now. Without a secure democratic family there can be no foundation for a secure democratic society.

For Time

The Things That Belong to Thy Peace

The Christmas season with its message of "on earth peace, good will toward men" gives due emphasis to the place our Lord and his Church has in the peacemaking. The General Assembly of the United Nations is now meeting in New York. This Assembly of 51 United Nations'

Governments is something to thank God for and to pray for without ceasing. The disappointments which the peace-hungry people of the world have suffered in the 16 months since the close of the war are not enough to destroy our hope or stop our prayers for the good issue of this meeting of the United Nations. The reaction of the common man to the deteriorating political situation is more than disappointment.

Sumner Welles, in his important book, *Where Are We Heading?*, deals adequately with the uninspired leadership of the great powers at San Francisco and the failures at subsequent meetings of the peacemakers. "At San Francisco there were no such great personalities as those who had been present at the signing of the Treaty at Versailles." But the former Undersecretary of State does more than record the failures. His book is a stern testament of faith in the United Nations. This faith is held, almost desperately, by the great body of public opinion of the progressive nations of the world. This time we are determined that the ideals for which we have fought shall not be treated after the victory as only wartime propaganda. The evidence that the ideal and hope of the United Nations is so broadly based in the hearts of the people of the world is one guarantee of its fulfillment. Let us gather strength from the knowledge that, the world around, there are so many men of good will. The Church in exerting an enlightened Christian opinion has a great responsibility for the present stage of "a just and durable peace." The present critical position of world affairs requires a continuous emphasis on the world order movement.

Armageddon at the Door

The determination of the common people which is far in advance of that which prevailed at the close of World War I—that, this time, we shall live together in peace—is strengthened by the grimness of the alternative that lies before us. We live in the atomic age and are as con-

vinced as General MacArthur that "we now must devise some greater and more equitable system (than military alliances, balance of power, etc.) or Armageddon will be at our door." We have our last chance.

Like These

It is folly to hope for security in arms in an atomic age. Some have seriously recommended that we contemplate a sanitary war to destroy the power of the nation now holding the greatest threat to our security and world peace. The most this policy could promise would be a "Pax Americana" with the United States policing the world.

Moves in this very dangerous direction are to be seen in our increased naval strength in the Mediterranean where our ships acted as "instruments of policy" and also in the proposed flight of B-29's around the world, suggested by Assistant Secretary of War for Air, W. Stuart Symington, who advanced "the thesis that the air force, as much as the Navy, must be considered an instrument of foreign policy." Hanson Baldwin, of *The New York Times*, makes the observation that "the proposed mass flight is plainly intended to shake a big stick under the nose of the Russian bear."

Food in the World Crisis

The work of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations carries the promise of relief from hunger for the 75 per cent of the human race who have never had enough to eat. Sir John Boyd Orr, Director General of FAO, reported on the aims and progress of the nations of the world represented in this body. The FAO is studying the sufficient production of grain and its distribution to meet the world's need so that we shall not again face the time when the economists and politicians of one nation will be "wrestling with the disturbing problem of a glut of wheat while there are 100 million people in India who are hungry."

The FAO reported from Copenhagen, October 4, 1946, that there was a gap of eight million tons of bread grain between the needs of deficit countries and supplies that are available for export. This is the shortage anticipated even after the bumper crops of the year. The conference recommended carrying out the Washington meeting recommendations for economizing in the use of bread grains. Recently, the United States released more grain to the distillers! In the year July 1, 1945, through June 30, 1946, 2,027,168 tons of grain were used by the brewers. This is a little more than one quarter of the "gap" of eight million tons of grain needed by deficit countries. Is it possible that in the food we waste in our excesses, the necessities of the "hungering neighbor" could be met? It is not hard to fit this circumstance with a paraphrase of St. Paul's words: "Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth."

WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

Soviet-American Relations

*Following are excerpts from a Statement on Soviet-American Relations submitted by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace and adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches.**

WAR with Russia can be avoided, and it must be avoided without compromise of basic convictions. Tensions exist which constitute a serious threat to world peace. That fact must be faced realistically and at the same time with courage and vision. It demands a new way of international accommodation which will reckon with fundamental differences in outlook and practice. If the nations find that way in our time, they may set the pattern of a peaceful future. Men should be impelled by a sense of urgency even greater than that which made them determined, resourceful, and co-operative to win the war.

Unavoidable Tensions and the Method of Tolerance

The beliefs that we hold as Christians are different in many essential respects from those of the Soviet leaders.

Such differences will never be removed by the compromise or surrender of faith by Christians. Also, Christians will not renounce, as to any part of the world, the right to go and preach the Gospel, teaching men to observe what Christ commanded. They will seek, everywhere, institutions and practices which reflect what they believe to be God's will for man. On the other hand, we cannot realistically anticipate that Soviet leadership will, at an early date, compromise its beliefs or institutions in such a way as to make them compatible with the Christian faith. Neither can we expect it to give up the right to propagate communist beliefs in the world. Therefore continuing tensions are unavoidable.

Despite these differences, peace is possible. We are convinced that a dynamic and fruitful peace can prevail in a world society where conflicts of faith are unavoidable. This will be possible if three requirements are met:

First, the existence of conflicting beliefs must be considered normal.

People everywhere must recognize that differing beliefs and practices are normal in world society, now and in the future. Also, they must see that those who hold beliefs firmly will seek to propagate them without dilution or compromise.

Secondly, all men must renounce the effort to spread abroad their way of life by methods of intolerance.

The method of tolerance begins with recognition of the sacredness of the individual human personality. From that it follows that men should not be subjected to compulsion in matters of faith and reason. Individuals must be free to believe as their reason and conscience dictate. It is that formula of tolerance which makes it possible to combine peace and diversity. It does not require any to be intellectually or spiritually

* The complete statement in pamphlet form may be ordered from SOCIAL PROGRESS at 5 cents each, remittance with order.

tolerant of beliefs or practices that seem to them to be evil. It does require all to recognize that no end, however good it may seem, should be sought by foul means.

Thirdly, the United States must accept primary responsibility to secure international acceptance of the method of tolerance.

The American nation knows the method of tolerance. Our people have used that method—even though imperfectly—for 160 years. They know that it can work both for peace and progress. They have learned that they cannot disregard it with impunity.

Exposition and persuasion are important. But if our initiative is to prevail, it must carry world-wide conviction on two basic facts:

1. It must be made clear that our nation utterly renounces for itself the use internationally of the method of intolerance.
2. It must equally be made clear that persistence internationally by the Soviet Government or the Soviet Communist party in methods of intolerance will not in fact make their faith prevail and will jeopardize the peace.

That dual position should be presented to Soviet leaders with friendly yet firm persistence. Thereby, within a large area, principle would replace expediency and emotionalism which vary between being "tough" and being "soft" with Russia. It would be found that in many situations policy could be determined by the principles we enunciate.

The report continues with a discussion of "Avoidable Tensions and the Method of Adjustment," "National Interests and International Co-operation," and "Democracy and the Well-being of Man," and concludes with the following summary:

We have outlined a program containing four salient points:

1. The elimination internationally of methods of intolerance which make it impossible for conflicting beliefs to subsist and be propagated in the world consistently with peace.
2. The elimination from United States national policy of certain prejudices and practices which unnecessarily create tension.
3. Co-operation of the American and Russian people at the scientific, economic, cultural, and religious levels and co-operation of the United States Government with the Government of the Soviet Union in the curative and creative tasks envisaged for the United Nations.
4. Demonstration that democratic institutions which reflect the Christian doctrine of the sacredness of the individual personality can be made so vigorous and life-giving that all peoples will want them.

It is not unreasonable to believe that if Soviet leaders were confronted with a definite, consistent, and strongly backed American program of this order, they would respond to it, since it would permit their own people peacefully to develop under their own institutions and would permit them by fair methods to propagate their faith in the world. The resulting atmosphere would make it possible to deal in a friendly and fair way with the perplexing postwar problems.

Let us then, inspired by our tradition and our faith, go forward with courage and with confidence that under divine guidance we may today serve mankind as our forebears served our nation.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Information

Atomic Energy Commission. The appointment of David E. Lilienthal as chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission is announced just as we go to press. Mr. Lilienthal is well qualified for this position. His experience and performance record in conducting the T.V.A. Conservation Program in harmony with the local Government and his successful efforts to keep T.V.A. out of politics are indeed commendable. As chairman of the subcommittee under the State Department to investigate the peacetime application of atomic energy he had an opportunity to become familiar with all phases of atomic energy. The report of this committee, the Lilienthal-Acheson Report on Atomic Energy, is regarded in all circles as the most outstanding document on this subject.

Congressional Reorganization Bill. One of the major achievements of the last Congress is in danger of not achieving its purpose. Congressman Patman is organizing a fight against incorporating reorganization bill provisions in House rules to be adopted the opening day of the next session. His argument is that the four budget committees establishing expenditure ceilings can stop social legislation. Other experts feel that the provision whereby the committee handles appropriations singly rather than in an itemized budget will offset this. It is important to watch what happens with this new bill.

House Military Affairs Committee. The subcommittee recently returning from the Pacific is requesting that strong military forces be kept there to offset Russia.

House Merchant Marine Committee. The probe into war projects was discontinued until after election. Of the figures already submitted to the committee 19

companies invested 22 millions to take out 356 millions in profits. (*U.D.A. Congressional Newsletter*.)

Action Needed Now

Amnesty. The 158th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., referring to conscientious objectors, stated: "There is no justification now for further punishment. . . . The cause of justice will be better served if they are restored to their families and useful work rather than maintained in prison." Presidential amnesty was recommended. Thousands of men are in prison with years yet to serve. Parole is not the answer as civil rights are not restored by that procedure. Amnesty has been granted on many former occasions: by President Washington after the Whiskey Insurrection, in 1800 by Adams to participants in the Pennsylvania rebellion, in 1863 by Lincoln to secessionists, in 1924 by Coolidge to deserters between the armistice and the legal end of the war, in 1933 by Roosevelt to political prisoners of World War I, and in 1945 by President Truman to convicts who served meritoriously in World War II. Amnesty has been granted to political prisoners in Brazil, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, India, and, in Japan, by General MacArthur.

Letters urging amnesty for conscientious objectors now in Federal prisons should be addressed to the President, the Attorney General, and your Senators and Representatives. For further information write the Committee for Amnesty, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7, New York.

Food Situation. Countries in acute need: Finland, Italy, Greece, Poland, Hungary, Japan, Korea, Germany, and Austria. Countries where wholesale disaster threatens: India and China. "The American Congress refused to give General Clay the whole appropriation re-

quested to feed the American zone—costs of supplies have risen, thus reducing even the value of what was appropriated. Information is that the State Department and the Army are currently expecting to request a deficiency appropriation from Congress to care for the increased costs." (*Church World Services, Inc.*) In the State Department circles at least that is recognized as a Government problem, and our efforts may be directed to asking why the Government is not doing it.

The muddle over sending food to starving people is no clearer than during last spring. Reports of bumper crops in the U.S.A. seem to relieve our concern, but the crops must be shipped. UNRRA is going out of business and the Food and Agriculture Organization (UN) is dealing with long-range problems. There is no international organization which is currently competent and able to respond to the need. Each Government, if it can get food, is expected to take care of its own food problems. Meanwhile India is unable to buy sufficient food abroad although it has the money.

We can ask that our Government continue to assume its responsibility, on behalf of world peace, to feed the people in occupied areas. Address letters to President Truman.

For the Next Congress

Conscription. The War Department in an October 2 news release asked for a compulsory military training law.

The Army's peacetime draft plans call for a full year of military training. The year is divided into six months spent in regular military camps and the equivalent of the other six months in other training. Actually the plan requires for many boys periods ranging from one to four years as the equivalent of the second six months' training. For example, boys must spend this second period in the National Guard, attending weekly drills for several years,

or in the R.O.T.C., attending drills for four college years, or in the Enlisted Reserve. For boys who prefer to enlist in the regular Army there is, of course, much more than the six months' term.

The Army's plan is designed to win full support from the American Legion and the National Guard. The Army proposes drafting all mentally and physically fit youths between 18 and 20. This would mean about 726,000 yearly for the Army. The Navy would take the rest, or approximately 275,000.

Army halts draft for rest of 1946. Some experts unofficially regard this as the beginning of the end of the World War II draft.

A. F. of L. again opposes peacetime draft. Occupation policy suffers because of youth draft. *Collier's* magazine for October 19, 1946, carried a story by Edward Morgan, "Heels Among the Heroes," which tells how our occupation policy will intensify our foreign problems.

"Officers, civilians, and G.I.'s themselves agree that teen-agers are too green for this serious, complicated assignment.' 'But that's how the American voters wanted it,' a staff officer is apt to remark bitterly, 'or that's how Congress thought they wanted it anyhow, and that's what we got. Despite every appeal, warning, and precaution that the Army medics have been able to devise, the venereal disease rate among American troops in Europe rose to a new high of 264 per 1,000 men in June.'" (40 per 1,000 is considered very high in the United States.)

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., May, 1946, affirmed its opposition to the adoption of peacetime conscription for military training or service; it recommended the support of measures for the universal abolition of peacetime conscription, and called for the termination of Selective Service in favor of voluntary enlistments to provide the military forces needed for our international commitments.

The United Nations

(Continued from page 3)

tion. One can therefore conclude that as long as the United Nations remain united, as long as their decision to act against an aggressor remains the basic aim of their foreign policy, aggressive wars will be impossible.

Origins

All this sounds so obvious that one may wonder why the United Nations was not created long ago. Actually, it took World War II to convince the world of its necessity. From this war only United States, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia emerged as major military and political forces; even their closest allies came out of it terribly weakened. But before they were known as the "Big Three," diplomatic relations among them were strained. They held different views on economic, social, and ideological problems. True, World War II found them fighting together against the common enemy; but there was real danger that once the enemy was defeated the old hostilities and suspicions would again divide the Allies and prepare the ground for new wars.

Now, no matter how often they disagreed, they agreed on one idea: a new war would dwarf even the horrors of World War II. It would be a catastrophe that must be prevented by all possible means. Fortunately, two developments during World War II put the Governments on their mettle. The first was psychological; the second was technological.

First, the Allied peoples were tired of war and wanted peace. They were tired, not of this particular war alone, but of war. They felt that no matter how desperate an international situation seemed to be there must be a way out. Gradually this feeling became stronger. People began to realize that only a permanent world organization could maintain permanent

peace. Breaking through ideological and party lines, reaching across national borders, the trend toward world co-operation became so powerful that it forced the Allied Governments to give it recognition. The Governments made world organization one of their principal war aims.

Secondly—and this has become a truism by now—new inventions changed the concept of distance. Industry turned out weapons that made an individual national defense almost impossible; it turned out planes that could reach the farthest points on the globe in a matter of days or hours. Mass flights across oceans demonstrated the futility of clinging to old-fashioned ideas of geographical barriers. And, it was felt, all these inventions were only a beginning. More terrible weapons would come and play havoc with isolated, unco-ordinated defense plans. Here again, the answer to the threat lay in international co-operation.

While the war was still going on, every international conference of the Allies began to stress their intention to remain united in peace as in war. The Allies made it clear that the new international organization would be based on the principle of sovereign equality of its members. This was the first limitation in the scope of the United Nations to come.

On October 30, 1943, the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China, through the intermediary of their foreign ministers, jointly declared "that they recognized the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

On December 1 of the same year, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, at the

conclusion of their conference in Teheran, confirmed the intention of the major Allies to co-operate in war and peace. The three chiefs of state had gone one step farther than their foreign ministers in seeking "the co-operation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance."

In this part of the declaration one can already find the first elements of what was later to become the human rights concept of the United Nations; but at the same time the idea that different ideologies must exist peacefully side by side was also expressed in the same document in the following terms: "We look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live, untouched by tyranny, and according to their varying desires and their own consciences." This was the second limitation in the scope of the United Nations to come, for it announced the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs.

The almost complete concept of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and China on the character of the future organization resulted from the Dumbarton Oaks conversations. Breaking with the tradition of keeping proposals for the establishment of an international organization confidential until all the Governments have agreed upon them, the major powers threw open the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals to world public opinion for discussion and appraisal.

Steps Toward Organization

Finally, on February 11, 1945, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, at the conclusion of the Crimea Conference, announced that a conference of the United Nations had been called at San Francisco, California, for April 25, 1945, in order to prepare the

charter of the new international organization.

At the San Francisco Conference almost every participating Government, even the four sponsoring powers themselves, submitted amendments of many kinds to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. After innumerable discussions, the charter was unanimously adopted and signed by the delegations of Governments represented. After its adoption it was submitted to the various countries for ratification. On October 24, 1945, James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State of the United States of America, having received the required instruments of ratification from the United States, Russia, England, France, and China, and from the majority of the other signatories to the San Francisco charter, solemnly informed the people of the world that the United Nations Charter had come into force.

Seventy-eight days later, the first General Assembly of the United Nations met in London with the specific task of establishing the organization and of starting the operations of the greatest intergovernmental machinery in history.

When the Assembly emerged from its session, the organization was a going concern, with all its organs functioning.

The United Nations is not a static organization whose sole duty it is to maintain territorial possessions, strategic areas, colonies or mandates, spheres of influence, or economic empires. The United Nations can function at its best only when the principles of justice and equality among all are applied in a constant process of peaceful adjustment.

Can this be accomplished? The peoples of the world and every citizen of the United Nations will give the answer. Each of them has his hands on the wheel of progress; each of them can make it turn back to the Dark Ages or forward to a glorious future. The only thing no one can do is to make it stand still.

Sanctuary

Year's End

Meditation:

"We must impart to little groups and through them to the world a new and burning vision. And, finally, with God's help we must turn back to Christ . . . to the flaming Master-Realist who actually lived and lives in love with life and with humanity. Through living with him and learning of him alone will come understanding and mastery of life."

Francis B. Sayre

Call to Worship:

Leader: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together:

Response: For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Leader: Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed:

Response: For the Lord our God is with us.

Invocation:

Vouchsafe unto us, O Lord God, that we may stand before thee in purity and holiness; and in the beauty of spiritual order, with knowledge and fear, may serve thee, the Lord and Creator of all, to whom worship is due from all, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites

Prayers of Self-examination and Renewal:

Almighty and most merciful God our Father, we bring unto thee at the end of another year the concerns of our troubled hearts in a troubled world. Humbly we lay before thee our confession of the selfishness and greed that has made of the family of nations a family of violence and death. Take from us, O God, all hate and the cruel passions of vengeance. Remove from our hearts all arrogance and vain pride. Accept our penitence, our Father, and give to us thy peace.

We give thee thanks this day for all good things: for all faith in the midst of fear, for all courage in the midst of discouragement, for all strength when our hearts and minds are weak and afraid, for all who with steady hand have helped us to act with dignity, and for all the evidences of abiding truths that shall survive the dangers of this time.

Do thou bless all those who rule and hold public office. Grant them wisdom from thy wisdom and love from thy love, and enable us all to look with sober eyes beyond the stresses of this hour, that truth and justice and mercy may be uppermost in our minds, that our children and our children's children shall not suffer again the needless agony of war.

Bless the ministers of Christ in faraway lands and at home. Grant them courage to speak thy Word with true and fearless devotion. Hear our prayer as we name in our hearts all those near and dear to us this day. Into the lives of all who are sick or fearful send thy Holy Spirit of comfort and healing grace. Grant us courage, give us faith, renew our hope, and forgive our sin, that we shall not shame the Christ whose name we bear.

Into thy hands we commend ourselves and all thy children upon earth, sure in the knowledge that thy way is just and true and that in thy hands the destiny of men is good. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Litany: WHERE IS MY COUNTRY?

Who has decreed that "my country" shall include only the geographical area bounded by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Canada, and Mexico?

Who has decreed that "my country" shall embrace only those men, institutions, and events which lie between the year 1492 and the present?

God help me to define my country.

Where Isaiah lifted up his voice for human justice, there is my country.

Where Plato announced the reality of the spiritual, there is my country.

Where Saint Francis lived the compassionate life, there is my country.

God help me to broaden my allegiance, not limiting it by little lines, or by accidents of time and space.

Where Luther struck for the liberty of the soul, there is my country,

Where Gandhi fights a swordless fight for freedom, there is my country.

Where Schweitzer heals the bodies of the black man, there is my country.

Where Kagawa champions the underprivileged, there is my country.

God help me to own my country wherever men and women lift the flag of justice, or of freedom, or of truth, or of peace, or of fellowship.

Wherever men are enslaved in body for the sake of gain, or in mind for the sake of power;

Wherever the dark gods of superstition and prejudice are served;

Wherever eyes are turned only toward the past, fearing to face the future;

There lies my enemy country.

God help me to protect my country from all such enemies.

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action;

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake. Amen.

Adapted

Benediction:

The benediction of the God of peace, and Jesus the Prince of Peace, and the Holy Spirit of peace, abide with you forever. Amen.

Labor's Power

(Continued from page 6)

In United States, British, and French zones, military authorities are promoting as many as eighteen industrial unions in each zone. The worker is free to join a union or stay out, as he prefers, but there is no doubt that each of the occupying powers looks to the unions to sell its concept of democracy to the workers.

Eager propagandists of the CIO and the A. F. of L. are spreading pamphlets throughout the American zone designed to sell the Germans their differing ideas of labor organization.

Labor is trying to express its own interests in world politics through its own international organization. The World Federation of Trade Unions, which now claims seventy million members in fifty-six countries, was formed at Paris last October on the initiative of the Americans and British. Before that date the only world organization of labor was the International Federation of Trade Unions, with which the American A. F. of L. was associated. Neither the CIO nor the Soviet unions were members.

Under the impulse of wartime alliances, the new World Federation was formed to unite Russian, British, and American organizations as the leaders of world labor. But the A. F. of L., still wary of political activity, has declined the place kept open for it in the Federation.

Certainly the WFTU is far more active in politics than its predecessors. Its constitution contains no restrictions against political activity. The voting powers of its members were deliberately arranged so that the 30 million members of the Soviet trade-unions cannot alone swing the WFTU in political activities. A meeting of the Federation's Executive Bureau in Washington last week urged the membership to "make known to each of their Governments their determination to op-

pose the preparations for another war and to defeat the evil forces of fascism and reaction." It also declared the WFTU to be opposed to the Government of Francisco Franco in Spain and decided to "continue and intensify the campaign against him."

Dangers Ahead

The political action of the WFTU is nevertheless limited. Its member unions still are primarily nationalistic in character. The same devotion to national interests that influences diplomats is evident in labor's world congress.

Sooner or later, political issues now shelved by the Federation will come to a head. A CIO official, for example, is to investigate the appeal of native organizations in the Union of South Africa for help in obtaining better conditions for Negro workers in the gold mines. The whole question of colonial labor is charged with political dynamite. But it still is on the national level that labor seeks political strength to further its ambitions on the world level.

Two trends stand out sharply in the current development of labor's influence on national politics:

1. Organized labor has turned from its old revolutionary aim of destroying the state toward the more practical aim of harnessing the state to give to labor a larger share of the national production.

2. To attain this end, labor is tending to share with Government the responsibilities of directing the national economy.

Labor's progress in politics, on both the national and the world levels, depends to a large extent on labor's ability to maintain discipline and avoid factional disputes, such as those now threatening labor unity in France and Italy. Many leaders of labor maintain that the solidarity of the workers is stronger than either the Communist or the Socialist parties. Time alone will show whether this is true.

The Workshop

It Can Be Done. The minister of our Church was informed recently that a state liquor store was being transferred into the neighborhood. The particular store building it would occupy was across the street from one of the largest recreational area parks in Portland, a tavern on one corner and a grocery store with a beer license on the other. Our Church, Millard Avenue Presbyterian, was just a short block and a half away.

The following Sunday morning, Rev. Frank L. Shoemaker reported this proposed state liquor store location. He felt it vital that the congregation know of it and announced that after the Church service, a special meeting of those interested in doing something about the matter would be held. About four-fifths of the congregation remained in their seats while the minister greeted the few who left. Then he too returned to the church to find that the meeting was already in progress and that a collection had been made to meet the expenses that would be involved.

A committee of five was chosen: three of the Church and two of the interested community residents. They immediately hired a Christian lawyer. Not a day went by without this group's being busy—meeting state liquor commissioners, attending meetings, and so on, with the lawyer leaving no stone unturned. Because of the time element, the Church group worked rapidly and succeeded in obtaining a hearing before the Liquor Commission, which refused to grant permission to the state liquor store to open in the vicinity.—*Mrs. Joseph Edmiston, S.E.A. secretary.*

Episcopal Youth Favor Church Unity. The National Youth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meet-

ing in Philadelphia, Pa., in September, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the disunity of Christendom is a hindrance to the effectiveness and spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and

WHEREAS, our Church has committed itself to negotiations with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America:

BE IT RESOLVED THAT, we, the United Movement of the Church's Youth, will by prayer, work, and study, labor for the reunion of God's family, the Church; and that

FURTHERMORE, we will especially co-operate with the youth of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and other Christian Churches in the United States of America, that we may better understand them and they us.

Rev. William Crittenden, Executive Secretary of the Division of Youth of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in conveying the resolution to Rev. Kenneth Reeves, Director of Young People's Work of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., wrote as follows: "This, of course, means that a definite study unit, projects, and so on, will be included as a specific part of the program and emphases of the United Movement of the Church's Youth for 1947-1948."

Young Adult Meeting at Manse. A group in the First Presbyterian Church, New Brighton, Pa., listed topics they want to discuss, and the first choice will be, "What Does the Presbyterian Church Stand for Today?" Mr. Frishkorn has been asked to take part in the discussion, as he attended General Assembly last May.

This group is eager to be informed on the current stand of our Church on social

questions, and deliverances of the Assembly for the last 35 years will be reviewed.

Knoxville Interracial Gathering. A history-making interracial gathering here brought together white and Negro members of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. to celebrate the 81st anniversary of Shiloh Presbyterian Church. It was said to be the first time in Knoxville history that an interracial Church meeting had been held.

Joining in the service were the congregations of the Second, Fourth, and Erin Presbyterian Churches, who participated in the Shiloh service instead of holding their own Sunday-evening programs.

The white choir of Second Presbyterian, one of the oldest and largest Churches in the South, sang at the service, and speakers of both races sat on the platform.

The words "white" and "Negro" were not mentioned during the service, and there was no separation in the seating arrangements. According to Rev. H. Waite Stennett, Shiloh pastor, some 1,000 persons were present.

Principal speaker was Dr. William Barrow Pugh, of Philadelphia, Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. He declared that "the day will come when people before the cross will be one in Christ Jesus."

The interracial meeting marked the closing session of the Blue Ridge Synod and Synodical Conference, the first time the White Synod of the Mid-South joined with the Negro Blue Ridge Synod.

"We consider this joint meeting one of the most forward steps in interracial relationship that has ever been taken in this community," Dr. Stennett said.

Shiloh Presbyterian's history goes back to Civil War days. During and immediately after the Civil War a few Negroes belonged to the old First and Second Presbyterian Churches of Knox-

ville. Eleven from the Second and one from the First organized the First Colored Presbyterian Church of Knoxville, now known as Shiloh, in 1865.

N. Y. Synod S.E.A. Report. At the Annual Conference meeting on June 10, 1946, it was suggested in executive session that concentration be made in the fields of world order, industrial relations, alcohol, and race relations. The reports of action in local Churches made to the conference session show that: (a) a series of four weekly conferences on world order were held simultaneously; (b) an active local committee of specialists in the field of social action sponsored programs for Sunday-night suppers and stimulated subscriptions to *SOCIAL PROGRESS*; (c) various groups sent boxes of clothing abroad; (d) a series of reintegrating Sunday-evening meetings for veterans on the topic "These Things We Fought For" were held.

Excerpts from presbytery action follow: Several reports received indicated use of the Political Action Postal Card Service available through the Division of S.E.A., Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa., and other presbyteries reported their interest in *SOCIAL PROGRESS*. One committee developing S.E.A. chairmen in local Churches and women's groups, sends them reports of its monthly meeting; it provides speakers to circulate among the Churches; and it has had the presbytery shift the S.E.A. report from the crowded annual meeting in April to the June meeting when an hour and a half is allotted it and its report is printed and sent out.

Another committee meets monthly and outlines several fields for emphasis throughout the year. It sent a report to Washington on the case of 4 million uprooted Protestants in Silesia. It also presented to New York Presbytery resolutions regarding the maritime strike, urging the protection of the living standards of American seamen.

About Books

Color and Conscience: The Irrepressible Conflict, by Buell G. Gallagher. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

Not since 1924, when J. H. Oldham, Robert E. Speer, and Basil Mathews produced studies of Christianity and race has the problem been adequately faced. Amid a multitude of books and pamphlets on peripheral and related problems, Buell G. Gallagher's *Color and Conscience* aims at the central issue: the unresolved conflict roused by race in the Christian conscience. Gallagher does not go over the ground covered by Myrdal and his fellow scientists, but, rather, builds their findings into the substance of his argument.

Scholarly but not dispassionately written, the book expresses the deep convictions of the author, who as president of Talladega College and, later, professor of Christian ethics in the Pacific School of Religion, met in actual experience the problems grappled with. These convictions are expressed often with epigrammatic clearness, often with ironical but inescapably logical reasoning, and sometimes, sad to relate, with labored classroom phraseology.

Gallagher adopts the now widely accepted concept of color caste as the basis of his analysis. It is the caste system, based on imaginary fears and expressed in custom and taboo, present in every section of the country and in every class of people, which cuts across every great Christian affirmation and makes race the heaviest problem weighing upon the Christian conscience today. The fear of loss of caste is an effectual bar to unconventional behavior and opinions on the part of men whose ethical judgment in other respects approaches the Christian standard. Met on every hand by frustration and futility

even the ethically sensitive Christian tends to give way to moral cynicism when facing the race problem, and abandons ethical standards in favor of some more easily sustained position—thus becoming an agent in making the problem worse.

The author views our present racial attitudes as a defection from the standard of historic Christianity, and sees in the modern missionary movement a boomerang challenging us once more to accept the gospel of inclusive brotherhood. On the world scene the white race—a minority with a majority complex—mistaking momentary supremacy for innate, permanent superiority, lives in a fool's paradise in which his prejudice threatens to overwhelm both his desire for gain and his political advantage. With the Soviet Union likely to cast its vote with the colored nations, Gallagher sees nothing but disaster unless the white race can change its attitudes.

Gallagher deals with most of the popular deceptions concerning race, shows the economic and cultural impoverishment resulting from segregation, and examines seven possible solutions to the American race problem. These are described as the physical extinction of minorities; expulsion and colonization; perfection of the caste system; a Forty-ninth State; parallel civilizations; amalgamation; and integration. He finds all of them impracticable except the last. Integration he sees in terms of the removal of caste, for "with caste removed, color ceases to have irrational overtones attached to it; it ceases to be a tool of culture conflict. . . . The integrationist, believing that caste must be eradicated, wishes to build a society in which color of skin has no more significance than color of hair." He neither advocates nor opposes marriage between

members of different racial groups. He looks for a permanent solution not through violent demands for justice or appeals for brotherhood, but in a combination of softheartedness and hardheadedness resulting in a high indifference to racial difference.

WILLIS CHURCH LAMOTT

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, by Brailsford R. Brazeal
Harper & Brothers. \$3.00.

Here is a book which offers a very readable case history of an outstanding union in the America labor movement.

This study by Dr. Brazeal is doubly welcome because it forms a significant addition to the meager published records of American unions.

Dr. Brazeal studied at Columbia under the noted labor authority, Leo Wolman, and is professor of economics at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. He has contributed widely to economic journals and Negro educational publications.

From firsthand observations and written sources, the author has drawn in simple, stirring pictures the story of the struggles which had to be won in order to build a labor organization for this group of highly respected Negro workers.

A quick look at the variety and significance of these problems which Dr. Brazeal treats will indicate the scope and structure of the book.

First, the attitude of the porters themselves toward unions was by no means enthusiastic or even informed. Many of the porters were much attracted by the paternalism of the Pullman corporation which bolstered their sense of security. When labor education and low pay forced porters in 1925 to subscribe to the idea of unionization, the embryonic organization started the uphill fight against the paternalism of one of the most antiunion corporations in the United States. This

struggle involved the destruction of the company union and the company-dominated employee benefits association.

The legal status of the porters' union was another difficult issue. Although porters performed an essential operation in the transportation of people in interstate commerce they were excluded from the benefits of the Transportation Act of 1920, which provided legal recognition of the established railroad brotherhoods. This lack was finally ended by the amended railroad labor act of 1934.

Other difficulties peculiar to this particular union centered about the minority attitudes of the Negro. Because most unions (particularly craft and trade organizations) discriminated against the Negro, colored groups required considerable education before they accepted the union as an instrument of self-help. Historically, Negroes had been used as a source of cheap labor to break strikes and to stop union growth. The Brotherhood had to overcome great opposition from Church groups and Negro papers.

Through the history of the union, the figure of Philip Randolph, organizer and president of the Brotherhood, emerges as one of the great Negro leaders of this century.

Other parts of the book deal with the important steps leading to the inclusion of the porters' union in the ranks of the A. F. of L. and various types of grievances peculiar to sleeping car porters.

Dr. Brazeal is to be commended for this excellent addition to the history of the labor movement in the United States.

SCOTT M. HOYMAN

Power for Peace: The Way of the United Nations and the Will of Christian People, by O. Frederick Nolde.
Muhlenberg Press. \$1.00.

Of the production of guides to the study of world order, there is no end. This

138-page book, however, is different. It deserves special consideration, first, because of the standing of its distinguished author, Dr. Frederick Nolde, as an exponent and interpreter of the United Nations to the Churches of the United States. Secondly, the book is so organized that it provides, within reasonably small compass, a study apparatus adaptable for use in any congregation. The work is based on sound educational principles.

According to the author, *Power for Peace* is designed to help the Christian citizen to reach intelligent decisions in one area of his responsibility for promoting world order. Christian citizens can give the United Nations appropriate support only if they are interested and informed. Their support will become more intelligent when it is based on an understanding of the objectives, structure, and procedures of the world organization. Motivation must be sought through an appeal to the conscience. More effective results from that appeal can be expected if the process of informing the conscience goes hand in hand with the process of awakening it.

The material in each of the twelve chapters is selected and organized in the light of certain desired outcomes outlined in the introduction. The course is designed for use in Church Schools, adult groups, special interest groups in Church and community, as well as a guide for any individual who is intelligently seeking a way in which the Christian may make his contribution to world order. The studies emphasize particularly the activities of the United Nations. This does not disregard the contributions of the Church to a world of peace and order that are being made through other channels, such as world missions and relief and rehabilitation.

The book's thesis can be discerned in the following words: "The Churches have

caught a new vision of service. They have found in the Gospel a vital message for life among the nations of the world. It is generally conceded that the Churches played an important part in bringing about the organization of the United Nations. What they have thus far done will prove vain unless they continue their leadership. . . . Every Christian is called upon to play his part."

WILLIS CHURCH LAMOTT

Contemporary Criminal Hygiene, edited by Robert V. Seliger, Edwin J. Lukas and Robert M. Lindner. Oakridge Press. \$4.00.

This excellent volume, edited by a psychiatrist, a lawyer, and a psychologist, concerns itself with a social problem about which the Church is doing very little—the rehabilitation of our criminals confined in institutions of public correction.

These men know whereof they speak and are all connected in one way or another with state or Federal prisons. They tell us that the governmental authorities are doing a miserable job and they see little hope for improvement because of the apathy and ignorance of the general public and absence of audible opinion against the evils of our present system. "Nothing," says Dr. Seliger, "will be accomplished until the public is more fully informed."

One of the best chapters is that written by Dr. William S. Sadler, noted Chicago psychiatrist who also serves as lecturer in pastoral psychiatry at McCormick Theological Seminary, though this latter fact is not mentioned in the book. While one of his colleagues, Dr. Negley Teeters, of Temple University, deprecates the influence of the Church by saying, "Many excellent families do not bother about religion at all and are law-abiding and rearing their children to be fine upstanding citizens," Dr. Sadler points out the constructive value of religion as a crime

deterrent. Says Dr. Sadler: "In addition to providing young people with compulsory work and opportunities for wholesome play, parents or the Church, or both, should give them such religious instruction as will afford a spiritual view of the goal of human existence; when all this has been accomplished, I think we shall have done our best to save them from delinquency; and I believe that such preventive and curative measures will save more than 95 per cent of the normal-minded group."

Few things would be more profitable to any study group in a local Church than to go through this book thoroughly and digest its disturbing findings as well as its positive suggestions.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Color Blind: A White Woman Looks at the Negro, by Margaret Halsey. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

Anyone who read *Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers* must have been looking forward to Margaret Halsey's next book. And this—a slim volume subtitled *A White Woman Looks at the Negro*—is it.

Miss Halsey brings to the subject, in addition to scientific facts and a deep loyalty to democratic principles, a delightful sense of humor; a spirited, straightforward style; and sympathetic understanding for the prejudiced as well as for the victims of prejudice.

In the opening pages she writes with disarming honesty about her own heritage of color consciousness and how it was gradually overcome. From this early experience she concludes: "Equality is an unconscious assumption, and if you feel you are treating someone as an equal, then you are not doing it. This basic unconscious assumption has to be learned, and it has to be learned through personal experience. Until it is taught to them, white children have no prejudice against Negro children. But white adults, no

matter how technically free from prejudice, cannot react to Negroes with child-like composure and stability unless they have a little practice."

As the readers of her last book will recall, Miss Halsey served during the war years as hostess captain in a famous canteen for servicemen, one of the few whose sign "All Servicemen Welcome" meant *all servicemen welcome*. American servicemen—Negro and white—were entertained by American hostesses—Negro and white—with no racial distinctions.

On very rare occasions peace and tranquillity was threatened by an explosive white-supremacy enthusiast (usually not a total abstainer). Whereupon the band would promptly burst forth in a loud version of "The Star-spangled Banner." The author describes a few of these incidents, but points out that "for every moment of strain . . . there were hundreds and thousands of times when the canteen's interracial character impressed and educated white servicemen and soothed the raw nerves of Negro servicemen."

Most of the old taboos and superstitions about race receive fresh and illuminating treatment in the instructions that were given to the hostesses in their discussions of how to deal with problems and answer questions, and in the account of Miss Halsey's conversations and correspondence with scores of servicemen.

The chapter entitled "Sex, Jealousy and the Negro" is a penetrating analysis, not only of the feelings of fear and guilt and desire which underlie racial prejudice, but of the role of sex in the American culture. This and the chapter on intermarriage treat the most delicate and emotion-laden aspects of the subject with the deft touch of a sympathetic, well-informed, and honest analyst.

Local leaders should find a wide reading of this book extremely effective in the cultivation of more Christian attitudes in their communities.

N. E. K.

The Church and Democracy

*By Stafford Cripps **

THERE is a power existing on earth that is far greater than any material power, that of the spirit, without which we can never succeed in utterly transforming not only our lives, but also the whole of our society.

That power of the spirit we call God. It is because I believe that Christ has shown us a way of living, here on earth, which could overcome our tragic difficulties and confusions, that I am urgently and deeply concerned as to the part our Churches should and can play in the life of our nation and of the world. For, after all, it is the Church that is supposed to interpret the spirit of God and Christ.

Yet the claims to divine power and guidance put forward by the Church have not been substantiated by any of its recent acts, or by the influence exerted by it on world progress during the last three or four decades. This does not prove God to be a failure; it simply shows that the Church has forgotten to play its role as interpreter of God's will.

There have been, and still are today, two widely differing concep-

tions of the functions of the Church; these are not, perhaps, mutually exclusive, yet they offer the most opposite approaches to the problems of our civilization. The first regards the Church as the channel by which we can individually attain personal salvation in a life to be lived hereafter. The second sees the Church as the active protagonist of the Kingdom of Heaven, or the rule of God, here on earth, as the pioneer of social salvation, more concerned with creating the greatest sum of human good and happiness here and now than with encouraging individual merit as a means to personal salvation hereafter.

The growing appreciation and importance attached to this second approach to religion, the growth of the social conscience of the Churches, has been one of the most significant phenomena in the development of religious feeling in our time.

It is this approach that gives religion its appeal to a great many of its keenest followers, especially amongst the younger generation. It is by emphasis upon this approach that the Church can revivify and reinforce the power of Christianity.

The rule of God is destined to come here on earth; his purpose will be worked out, for Christ has given us a vision of what the Kingdom on

* British liberal statesman; president, Board of Trade, Great Britain. Condensed from the author's book, *Towards Christian Democracy*. Copyright, 1946, by The Philosophical Library, Inc. Used with permission.

earth means. It is obvious that if the Church fails to make itself the instrument of that purpose he will find another agent, for his will must be done.

It is, in my belief, fundamental to the continuing life and influence of the Church that Christians must insist on the Church's instantly undertaking its task of social salvation as the means of perfecting the rule of God on earth.

If we accept this aim of social salvation, there is the question as to how we are to carry our purpose into effect.

It is not the function of the Church, as an organized body, to enter the lists of the political parties. To do so would be to confuse issues and to jeopardize the power of religion.

It is for the Church to provide the moral force and driving power for social and economic development.

The technical details of government and of legislation are for the politicians. But this is not to imply that politicians should be materialists. We require courageous Christians in our political life more than ever today. For, since this moral driving power is essentially designed to influence political decisions, its creation and its growth must impinge directly upon political thought and action.

Christian principles must be made so to permeate public opinion that

no Government can act against them, and those principles must be related to the social and economic problems of the moment. They must not be mere vague and idealistic platitudes unrelated to the actual structure of our society, or to the burning problems that vex our people.

It is the duty of the Church to interpret the Christian ethic in its relationship to the present-day facts of life, though these are often hard and unpleasant facts arising from our past neglect.

The strength of the moral leadership of the Church will depend upon the courage and the firmness with which this interpretation is given, and upon which it is insisted.

Courage and fearlessness of consequences are taught as outstanding Christian virtues, and in this moral leadership they must reach their highest level. Leadership does not consist in seeking to interpret and to follow the wishes of the majority, but rather in the attempt to lead and direct popular thought along the channels of Christian action.

Indeed, leadership and popularity often appear to be opposites, as can be seen in the life of Christ and in the lives of the early Christians. Yet, in the long run, moral leadership will justify itself with the people, not because it plays down to their momentary desires or emotions, but because it ultimately wins the support of all that is best in them.

Now, the application of Christian ethics to present-day circumstances has two main branches. The first, which might be termed the negative, is in the condemnation of existing social and economic conditions not in accordance with Christian principles, the legacy of the past; the second, or positive branch, our own legacy to the future, being the accomplishment of social and economic ways of life consonant with our principles, actually our present Christian objectives for society.

This is not to press for an ideal other-worldly society, but for our society as it actually exists. We are not primarily concerned with individual preparation, in a hopeless world of evil, for an ideal world to come hereafter. We are concerned with the creation, out of the present drab unhappiness, of a new and joyous life for the people in "our green and pleasant land."

We must now directly occupy ourselves with our social life, such as we live it. "By their fruits ye shall know them" does not mean, "By their hopes or imaginings of something better or different hereafter," but signifies, "By what you see them actually do."

It is for the production of those fruits that we are responsible, and if we fail even to try to produce them, we confess to futility and to a supreme lack of faith; they do not consist of fine phrases or paeans of praise, but must be seen as solid

actions. We know that some may appear as the most mundane kind of actions, like putting a piece of paper into a ballot box, or attending a meeting, yet others are more profound and far-reaching, such as setting ourselves a general standard for our own way of life. Still, the life of nations, and ultimately of the world, is often built up of these actions, even if small and almost insignificant in themselves.

Undoubtedly, members of the Church must pledge themselves to act in support of those Christian objectives which are decided upon as the most urgent. But in order to guide such a decision, the Church must feel itself untrammelled by any material interest so that it can freely decide upon the basis of its moral judgment alone. "Go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor" was an injunction given to enable the rich young man to exercise, unbiased, his moral judgment.

The Church has suffered, and suffers today, because of its consciousness that the bold teaching of Christian principles, if applied to our present society, will create a demand for far-reaching social and economic changes that may undermine its own financial and organizational stability. This consciousness is correct; yet it has no relevance whatever to the duty of the Church to take the steps necessary for our social salvation. It cannot alter the objectives.

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The Labor Situation—1945-1946 *

EVER since V-J Day, the "labor situation" had been rasping the national nerves. It has no precedent; in all probability it is not a precedent either. But the past year has raised questions that demand good answers.

In the year 1946 the strike as an American institution was 160 years old; picketing, 149. The first industry-wide strike dated from the year 1877; Andrew Carnegie's steelworkers asked for a "look at the books" in 1892. In the year after the end of World War I more than one fifth of all workers, organized and unorganized, in United States industry went on strike. In the year that had elapsed since World War II, bad as it was, 5 per cent of labor, organized and unorganized, took to the picket lines.

All this was not to say that the labor situation of 1945-1946 was merely more of the same. A subtle combination of forces was at work. The long trends in the development of the United States industrial society converged, in the first postwar year, on an economy and a psychology that were uniquely dislocated. In the turmoil of this meeting, the great and lasting problems of labor policy were boldly illuminated one day, utterly confused the next.

* Condensed from *Fortune*, November, 1946. Used with permission.

Real Issues

In the moments of light, great issues in the three-cornered relationship of worker, employer, and a free society stood out. These issues stood out from the annoyances, inconveniences, and disruptions of the year's troubles. They were not the abuses, or the racketeering, or the irresponsibilities. The issues were over general principles that cut deeply into almost every labor dispute, and they could be summed up in four statements. There could be no real harmony in industrial relations until labor, management, and Government were agreed on:

The full intimacy of wages, prices, and employment.

Productivity as the touchstone of economic progress.

Protection of the public from strikes that threaten essential services. (The definition alone was a prickly job.)

The need for refining the whole body of United States labor law.

All these issues could be put in one question: What is the role of a strong labor movement in a profit-and-loss society? That is the bed-rock problem.

Record of a Rough Year

The most damaging strikes were conducted by unions interested in nothing more sinister than the United States dollar. The steel and

coal strikes, by themselves, were heavy blows at reconversion; in combination their effect was still more severe. The impact of these and others—the strikes in oil, automobiles, steel, electrical products, and meat-packing—could not be read in the Labor Department's statistics.

The strikes and strike threats of 1945-1946 generated violent emotions, but it was an impressive fact that for the first time a great wave of strikes stirred up almost no physical violence. The strikers of 1945-1946 were not desperate men. On the public platform their leaders sounded off with booming phrases directed at the enemy capital; but privately they, like the strikers, were calm, cool, even friendly warriors. Management men, still historically on the defensive, presented a generally reasoned public reply; but privately and informally they often released the steam equivalent of labor's utterances. Business, by and large, had accepted the existence of collective bargaining, and its reaction to the labor situation of the past year was no unsophisticated howl of pain. Management's complaint tended to focus on specific problems: that a contract with a labor union was really not a contract at all, that the grievance procedure was immediately put to use for negotiating new working rules and job classifications that amounted to new wage increases. They expressed

distress at the NLRB and court rulings allowing union organization among foremen and other supervisory employees. They noted that the "ability to pay" argument, persuasively used by the unions in the General Motors and other strikes, was officially denied to companies losing money.

All over the United States, management watched the break-even point move up with labor costs. Industry was asking how the new prices put on an hour's labor would be absorbed when the great surge of postwar demand was spent. It was asking, not rhetorically, but as a matter of information, What are the outer boundaries of labor's objectives? Organized labor believed that its wages were primarily purchasing power, the foundation of prosperity, and only incidentally an element of costs. And labor was determined that its wages should be removed from the zone of competition between companies.

Plant managers in Detroit claimed that absenteeism was three times as great as it had been during the war. Industry generally grumbled that workers were not working very hard. No one really knew what had happened to individual productivity since Pearl Harbor, but that it was generally down from the prewar levels for industry as a whole was widely accepted. The ideal of an honest day's work for a decent day's pay was certainly a little battered.

Management, however, often ignored the fact that worker effort was only one of a number of factors influencing productivity, among them the abilities of management itself. Union leaders preferred to ignore the gap in current information, stressed the historic increase in productivity over a period of several generations, and used it as an argument that wages could be raised in 1946 without raising prices.

The peculiarly abrasive quality of the labor crisis of 1945-1946 came from the fact that almost every American was sincerely convinced that he, personally, was stuck with the short end of the whole wage-price deal. Labor generally compared 1946 take-home wages with the wartime peak, 1946 prices with prewar prices, and decided that it was being rooked. Industry was comparing current labor costs with prewar, and current output per dollar of labor costs with the prewar figures. There were obvious omissions from both complaints, but the grievances seemed real to the people who were doing the griping. Workers and employers not only wanted to be at least as well off as they had been before—preferably better off—but they wanted to make sure that the other side's position was not improving faster than their own. To this proposition the farmer also quite naturally subscribed. The union man whose pay had gone up

18 per cent felt cheated when his company announced that profits had gone up 50 per cent.

Chain Reaction

All the arguments and all the strikes of 1945-1946 really boiled down to the single issue already stated: the role of a strong labor movement in a democratic, capitalistic state. But this issue had confronted the United States for some time. What was the unique combination of forces that suddenly turned it into the most urgent of the country's domestic problems? Why did an old issue take on such an explosive quality in the first post-war year?

There were half a dozen good reasons. In the first place, under the stimulus of the Wagner Act and the wartime industrial boom union membership had more than tripled between 1935 and 1945. For the last four years of this decade the war had imposed a truce on the home front, and the surrender of Japan released all the impacted power of organized labor.

The unions did not have to look far for grievances. While take-home pay was falling (as industry restored peacetime working hours, or in some cases cut hours below normal because of material shortages and retooling), the cost of living was rising. By September, 1945, the purchasing power of almost all industrial workers had been cut

some distance below the wartime peak. That real wages were still higher than prewar levels was not disputed, but union members—like other Americans—refused to accept their 1940 or 1941 earnings as the norm. The unions, again following sound American practice, were also prepared to prove that the satisfaction of their own demands would be good for everyone. The argument was that higher wages would sustain purchasing power and thus help to stave off the coming depression; it was an argument well received in Washington, where the economists were convinced that the immediate postwar dangers were deflationary and unemployment might reach eight million by spring, 1946.

Beyond all the calculations of economists, labor's readiness to back up its wage demands by striking was partly a matter of letting off steam. Strikes, like war, are dramatic and to many exciting. Although labor believed it was being whipsawed by falling take-home pay and rising living costs, the fact was that the unions—like farmers, stockbrokers, real-estate owners, and used-car dealers—were able to cash in on a seller's market. Employment was at the highest level in peacetime history, and industry was crying for still more labor.

Low-priced Strikes

Labor militance was often matched by the opposition. Union

leaders frequently found corporation presidents as eager for a test of strength as they themselves were. Attitudes were tough on both sides. A variety of factors made strikes fairly cheap, in the short-range view, for some corporations. The excess-profits tax was in force until December 31, 1945; in the first eight months of the year the big war contractors had already made about as much money as they could hope to clear for the whole year; in some cases it was actually more profitable, in terms of the 1945 balance sheet, to shut down toward the end of the year rather than pay higher wages in advance of price relief.

Ironically enough, the rare situations in which management felt it had nothing to lose by a strike were largely of labor's own making. In one phase of the General Motors strike, the corporation's urge to settle with the United Automobile Workers was undoubtedly lessened by the fact that another C I O union, the steelworkers', had cut off the basic raw material of the automobile industry. As long as the steel strike lasted, General Motors could not make cars, regardless of its own relations; and neither could Ford or Chrysler, whose men were not on strike.

Finally, it was evident that the ambiguous policies of the Government had the effect of encouraging all the other forces that were shap-

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Should the C.O.'s Go Free?

*By Paul Jones **

LAST fall, General MacArthur ordered the release of nearly 1,000,000 political prisoners in Japan, including pacifists. In July of this year, General Clay announced an amnesty for about 1,000,000 German political offenders under the age of twenty-seven. Canada has ended her draft-registration system and written off the cases of some 14,000 deserters, including 8,000 conscripts who took to the woods rather than report for induction. Only thirteen conscientious objectors remain in British jails.

In this country, President Truman has proclaimed a general amnesty for all men convicted for any reason under Federal law who later served meritoriously in the armed forces during World War II. But our conscientious objectors remain in prison or do what amounts to forced labor for little or no pay in the Civilian Public Service camp and unit system, supervised by Selective Service.

Under the act of 1940, establishing the draft, 32,248,038 citizens between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five were required to register, up to October 1, 1945. Of these, approximately 15,000,000 passed

through the armed services. During the same time, the FBI investigated a total of 519,864 complaints of Selective Service violations, of which about 30,000 were worth taking to trial.

Only a minority of these cases were concerned with conscientious objectors. Some 6,000 C.O.'s drew prison terms, about 60 per cent for failing to report for induction and 27.9 per cent for failing to report for Civilian Public Service, when given that choice. The number of C.O.'s jailed for active obstruction, counseling, or aiding evasion was only twenty-eight, a microscopic fraction either of the total called up or of the C.O. group itself.

Objectors differed among themselves on the extent and application of their individual or group principles. Some who objected to the use of force served with credit in medical or noncombatant detachments, and one earned a Medal of Honor for conspicuous bravery beyond the call of duty. But others were unable to reconcile their beliefs with any participation in war. About 1,500 of these men are still in prison. The 4,500 who have been released can regain their civil rights only through an amnesty.

More than seventy per cent of
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* Member of the editorial staff of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin. Article reprinted from *The Saturday Evening Post*, November 23, 1946. Used with permission.

Energy and Civilization

*By Walter C. Michels **

We present herewith an address delivered at a conference of Churchmen and Scientists recently held in Philadelphia. Dr. Michels approaches his subject from an interesting and unusual point of view—that of the importance of energy as one of the first essentials of civilization and the conservation of energy as a basic responsibility.

IN ALL the discussions of atomic energy that have gone on since that tragic day of August 6, 1945, there has been, in my opinion, too much emphasis on the word "atomic" and not enough on the word "energy." This has been true probably because we have considered energy as an old acquaintance, while energy from the nucleus of the atom was something new. On the other hand, I often wonder if we are really aware of the role that energy in all its forms plays in modern civilization. Unless we understand its importance, we are no more in a position to anticipate the effects of the new source of energy that has become available than a medieval monk was to predict the effect that the steam and the internal combustion engines were to have on industry, politics, economics, morality, and religion.

The physicist defines energy as "the ability to do work." This ability exists in many forms. The water lifted by the sun falls as rain, re-

plenishes our streams, and so operates our hydroelectric plants; the chemical energy locked in coal may be released by burning to run our steam engines; the electrical energy supplied by a power plant may be used to give us light and to perform a hundred daily chores. All these are manifestations of the same quantity, and their differences are merely those of the availability and convenience of the forms of energy.

One of the greatest triumphs of science between the early seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries was the recognition that this thing called energy could be converted from one form to another, but could never be created or destroyed. The energy supplied to the universe is an irreplaceable stock, and must serve the purpose of all living beings for all time.

The thing which, more than any other one physical factor, determines the degree of our civilization is the rate at which we consume energy. This rate of energy expenditure we call power. Power may be measured in many ways, but the one most familiar to us is probably the

* President, Association of Philadelphia Scientists; Department of Physics, Bryn Mawr College.

horsepower, which was established by James Watt, inventor of the modern steam engine, as the rate at which an average horse could work.

The power available to any culture not only determines what that culture can have in the way of material comfort, but it also has an appreciable influence on comforts that are essentially spiritual or intellectual. Not a book is printed, not an organ is played, without expenditure of energy. We can see the importance of power immediately if we consider the rate of energy usage in various stages of civilization. Primitive man was forced to supply all his needs for shelter, clothing, and food by the power which he himself could develop. If we assume that his physical stature was not far different from our own, each man in the stone age had available something like one eighth of a horsepower. How inadequate this was is apparent if we consider a civilization that is as far advanced as that of the greater part of Asia today. Throughout much of that continent machines are nearly nonexistent, and the number of draft animals, such as oxen and horses, is considerably less than the number of human beings. If we take a grand average over India or China, we find that something like one half of a horsepower is available to each person. This is four times what primitive man had, yet famine, flood, and pestilence maintain much of their

mastery over Asiatic civilization.

The present dominant position of the United States is due, in no small part, to the fact that our natural resources and technical progress allow us to expend energy at a rate unheard of in any other country, or at any other time in the history of man. Compared with the one eighth horsepower per capita in primitive society and the one half horsepower per capita of present Asia, each of us has available something over five horsepower. It is this tremendous power excess that enabled us and our allies to win the recent war, that allows us in time of peace to have this building in which to gather and time to discuss problems such as those which now face us. If we are a peace-loving people, that does not give us the right to smug self-satisfaction. Our temptations are few because our machines and our power supply our needs, with a minimum expenditure of human effort.

Considered from the point of view that I have been taking, war is a diabolic machine invented for the purpose of squandering, as rapidly as possible, the energy that we and future generations need for full and pleasant lives. Not only is the effort of a nation during war devoted to the destruction of those works which have required energy for this building, but enormous power is used to accomplish the destruction. When a ten-ton block buster was exploding in Berlin, it was developing

about 50,000,000,000 horsepower. When the first atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima, the corresponding figure was about one hundred million billion horsepower. Staggering as these figures are, the energy consumed in explosives in the recent war was insignificant compared with that wasted while more than half of the power of this country was devoted, for four years, to the waging of war. The same amount of energy, if devoted to the purposes of peace, could more than double the power available to China, at her present rate of energy consumption, for the next fifteen years.

As we examine the importance of energy we may ask where it comes from, and how long the supply will last at the present rate of use. Until a little more than a year ago, practically all the energy available to us was that which came from the sun in the form of heat. Aside from the direct warmth supplied by the sun, all of our water power and wind power come from this source. More important than the energy available from hydroelectric stations, however, is the energy captured by growing plants. These organisms, by photosynthesis, store the sun's energy and make it available in the form of food, wood, and other plant products. This, the only direct source of energy among the uncivilized, would allow a power development only about one tenth of that achieved in the United States.

By far the major portion of our present power results from solar energy stored by plants thousands of years ago. This energy was laid up in coal and petroleum, of which the existing supplies are far from unlimited. Each time we burn coal in our boilers or gasoline in our motors, we deplete the reserve that the earth accumulated in past ages. Since we use about ten times as much energy from such sources as we capture from the yearly supply of sunlight, we are in the position of the prodigal whose expenses are ten times his income, and who consequently eats into his principal each year. Like him, we must make one of three choices: reduce our expenses, increase our current income, or face eventual ruin.

We are not the first nation or culture to face this difficulty. Long before the nature of energy was grasped, mankind had learned the necessity for abundant power. The usual solution of the problem of a depletion of energy sources has been the inhumane, immoral, and wasteful process of taking them from someone else by means of war. For what did Genghis Khan fight, if not for additional grazing land for his horses? Such grazing land was a source of fuel for the machines of the day. That these machines were animals, rather than internal combustion engines, that they used grass rather than petroleum for their fuel, are but minor differences. Those

who have followed the diplomacy of the past year do not need to be told that such sources of energy as the Iranian oil fields contain the germs of international misunderstanding and possible war.

In the world in which we now live, shrunk by modern communications, solution of the power problem by war is not only, as always, morally indefensible, but is insane on purely physical grounds. The last two world conflicts should have taught us that no nation can live in security and peace when the standards of living in other nations are so low as to excite their people to jealousy. Religion, morality, economics, and coldly practical politics point to the same answer: we, with our vast resources, must help all the people of the world to obtain sufficient power to meet their needs.

The predictions of geologists regarding our coal and oil resources only allow us from a few decades to a few centuries of expenditure at the present rate and the only materials which, as far as we know, can be used to release atomic energy sufficiently rapidly for commercial purposes are uranium and thorium. While the reserves of these elements have not been thoroughly investigated, there is no reason to suppose that they exist in quantity in the United States or elsewhere in the world. I am afraid that we cannot count, during the next few decades, on more than a small part of our

total energy consumption's being supplied by nuclear fission.

A more hopeful approach lies in the efficient utilization of the sunlight that reaches us. If the efficiency of photosynthesis can be improved, we can produce starches and sugars that can be used to make alcohol which may replace petroleum as a convenient source of energy. Also, we may hope that new nuclear processes will be found that will allow us to use sources of atomic energy other than those starting with uranium and thorium.

We have the choice of wasting our God-given inheritance on war or of using it to lift the world to the standards of living we now enjoy. Let us not pretend that our intentions are good, but that other nations force us to take a defensive attitude. The foreign policy of this country is in our own hands. We can either show our good intentions so clearly that we shall establish leadership toward a common brotherhood of mankind throughout the world, with hope, at least, of solving our problems, or we can take the road to suspicion, distrust, war, and destruction. Every statement that war is inevitable, every restriction on our freedom of thought or research, every piece of false witnessing against our international neighbors, is a step along that road. Let us not be guilty, before God and man, of choosing the wrong road, when the signposts are so clearly marked.

World Leadership Tomorrow

*By E. Fay Campbell**

IT WAS a great day for the Church when Saul of Tarsus (called Paul) was converted to Christianity. This brilliant young scholar brought into the Christian fellowship a mind capable of tackling the intellectual problems that confronted the Church, and of finding answers to the baffling questions that no one else in the Church had been able to understand. Paul's curious mind had to find some explanation as to who and what Jesus was and what his significance was to the world. He came to see that Jesus was the foundation upon which all men everywhere must build their lives. He was the first person to see the cosmic importance of Jesus, and from his time on many of the ablest thinkers of the Mediterranean world applied themselves to the task of preparing the Christian fellowship, the Church, to assume the intellectual leadership of the world.

But the Church, once the guardian of the source of the intellectual life of Europe and America, has surrendered its place of leadership. This fact was brought home to me most vividly at the Christian Student Conference in Toronto at the close of 1939. The war had been going on in Europe just three months.

"What, in your judgment, caused the war," someone asked Professor Joseph L. Hromádka, an exile of Czechoslovakia, now in Princeton University. "Our European civilization was rooted in the Hebrew-Christian tradition." Dr. Hromádka replied, "Europe no longer believes that; so our civilization has crumbled. There is no longer anything to hold us together and so war has come." After a moment he added: "Canada and the United States also were rooted in that Hebrew-Christian tradition. Many of your people no longer believe that; your culture and civilization also show signs of disintegration and you too will go the way of Europe." Dr. Hromádka's statement has grown in significance to me during the awful years of war. If his analysis is correct—and his statement seems to be tragically true—it is a devastating indictment, not only of all of our people but particularly of those of us who bear the name of Christian; not only of American education but particularly of our "Christian" colleges and those other institutions of higher learning in whose counsels Christians have a voice.

The war has been over for many months. We have multitudes of students now in colleges and universities.

* Secretary, Division of Higher Education, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

Never before in human history has there been such a rush to become educated. But there is little ground for hope that our educators themselves realize the terrible importance of what Professor Hromádka said to us that day.

In the famous Harvard report, *General Education in a Free Society*, that group of scholars seem to be rather sorry about this lack in our education, but they also seem to feel that nothing can be done. After all, they say, we have our democracy and must build a program within it, but we cannot expect modern Harvard to build on the Christian faith or any other faith, for that matter.

As a result of this lack of fundamental faith and spiritual insight, we see our university and college world floundering in utter confusion. Our students are coming from their years of study well-trained and well-groomed and, so it is assumed, ready for the struggle. But they are not ready to become the leaders of the people in rebuilding a broken and chaotic society; rather, we find many of them exploiting the people for their own interests.

It is the favorite pastime of these days following the war to expose the terrible ethics and suppressions of the Communists. That is easy to do. In my judgment state socialism, whether of the Marxist or the Nazi brand, is intolerable. I cannot go along with many liberals in their attempt to explain and defend the

actions of the despotic oligarchy that rules Russia. But—and this is the burden of this article—I claim that the Christian world of Europe and America is far more guilty of betraying the people than the Marxists have been. The intellectual leaders of our Western world, having no central purpose, use learning to exploit and not to serve. They have lost their faith. They deny the Christian tradition in which our democracy and education are rooted.

There will never be great education until the boards of control and the faculties of our colleges and universities are made up of men and women who know what they believe and what they are doing; men and women who are Christian and intelligent, who believe God is the source of truth and that man cannot fulfill his destiny apart from God and his will and purpose for the world. Under the leadership of such men and women, students again would become conscious of their heritage in the Hebrew-Christian tradition; of their responsibility as citizens of this democracy; and as members of the world-wide fellowship of Christians of every land and people, creed, color, or calling.

Our Presbyterian Church is in the business of working with colleges, because it is there that the Christian influence can be brought to bear most readily in the training of young men and women for leadership. To do this will require:

1. That we have strong, academically alive, liberal arts colleges in which the faculties are made up of vital Christian scholars, men and women who choose such colleges because of what they may mean. Christian people must see to it that such colleges can survive, financially, the terrific competition of the college world, not in the matter of million-dollar grants but in funds sufficient to provide good laboratories and libraries and opportunities for healthful recreation and respectable places in which to live.

2. That able students with Christian backgrounds attend these Christian colleges. If this is done, we can train men and women who are grounded in the truth for the service of society and the Church.

3. That some of our ablest Christian scholars must go into the business and professional world; into the field of labor, of politics, of Government service at home and abroad; into the field of racial and group relations, the whole broad area of human relations and other so-called secular callings. Higher education and the intellectual leadership of the world must be reclaimed by the Church so that a sufficient number of ministers, socially trained and intellectually and spiritually alert, may be ready to serve the Churches. That, in itself, is an important function; but the obligation does not end there. For, if the disintegration which Professor

Hromádka foresaw, is to be stopped and chaos forestalled, our institutions of higher education must also provide men and women of Christian faith and insight, competent and ready to attack and solve the problems of the secular world. Such men and women will, like Saul of Tarsus, who became Paul, a citizen of the world, bring God's judgment to bear on the pagan practices of our modern life.

More than twenty years ago, G.A. Studdert-Kennedy made a statement that needs to be repeated again and again today. Through his experience in World War I, Studdert-Kennedy entered fully into the suffering of the soldiers in the war and of the Welsh miners after the peace. Writing on the theme "Christ or Chaos," he said that Europe had gone to war because it had turned its back on Christ and when the war was over, Europe had made peace without taking Jesus into account. So Europe would go to war again and the tragic business would go on until man learned that he had only two choices: Christ or chaos.

Today we know all too well the truth of that prophecy. It is the word that modern man needs to hear and remember. Especially is this true of modern educators, for in their hands they hold a great opportunity and on them rests a heavy responsibility for the preparation of a strong self-dedicated leadership in a complex world.

A Christian and Orderly World

The Christian Church has a primary responsibility for the establishment of a Christian and orderly world. The disparity between the blessedness envisioned in the Christian society and the misery that is life for over half the people of the world measures our responsibility. The proportions of the task have made cowards choose a selfish life of gain to one of resolute courage. Entirely too many have lightly surrendered the hope of the good life for which so many of our sons and daughters have ventured their very lives. That we covenanted with these young dead is alone enough to keep us faithful. Furthermore, the everlasting truth that Christ died for the Kingdom we seek, and that he rose again with power to bring, holds us eternally and hopefully in the ministry to which we are bound.

"A Return to Normalcy"

The urgency of our responsibility is sharpened by the shortness of time that may remain to us. Mankind has in our generation been brought to a showdown. This fact is soberly and urgently kept before us by our nuclear physicists. They prophesy evil—and their prophecies are met with an increasing impatience and resistance by the people they seek to influence. The present mood cannot be explained as due to the frustration of people who, tiring of threats of destruction with no way of escape provided, have sought some release in heedlessness. Instead, we are confronted with a community whose heart is fixed on normalcy—a "normalcy" that means release from controls and sacrifice for us but holds no relief or promise of relief for the needy world. There can be no return to normalcy for us without the rest of the world.

"Operation Suicide"

The darkness of soul with which we have to contend is suggested by the result of a recent National Opinion survey. The survey indicated that 47 per cent of our citizens "would rather have America start an atomic war on grounds of suspicion that we are about to be attacked than to have America first seek facts to substantiate such a rumor." Has it occurred to the 47 per cent that, all other considerations aside, this policy would place us in the dock with the aggressor nations after the next war?

The scientists with increasing urgency advise us that the destructive efficiency of the atomic bomb is greater than when last released. We should know that by this promise it will be more tolerable for Nagasaki and Hiro-

ke These

shima in the day of judgment than for us. The Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest, acquainted with the experiment in New Mexico, refer to the area as "*Jornada de Muerte*," or journey of death. According to a recent National Opinion poll, 68 per cent of our people expect another war in 25 years, and 83 per cent believe there is very real danger that most of the world's urban population will be killed by A-bombs if there is another world war.

Light or Blight

The choice before us is sharp and clear. It is now for us to present that choice of life or death. There is no middle ground. The decision is ours. Our generation will either win the world to Christ or lose it for all generations. Jesus told his disciples they were the light of the world. We can under God be just that. The terrible truth is that we may become, instead, the blight of the world. The bomb that exploded over Hiroshima to kill and maim over 200,000 men, women, and children, had sufficient energy to light for one year a city of over 200,000 people! The comparison of these figures is startling. There is sufficient uranium mined in a year to produce with thorium 3,500 bombs. These will destroy, at the rate established in Japan, over 875 million people—nearly half the population of the globe. The Committee on Atomic Energy of the United Nations, reporting this, also reports that the same amount of uranium is capable, if employed in the ways of peace, of lighting, for a year, 100 cities the size of New York City—again, approximately the same number that this energy can destroy. The issue is sharp and it is immediate. We will light or blight this world in our generation.

The way to meet this challenge is not supplied by the scientists who handed us the bomb. The nuclear physicists unite in stating that after a study of the technical difficulties involved it is physically possible to place sufficient controls on atomic energy. But here they make an impressive surrender and announce the uselessness of such procedure as long as the power is in the hands of an untrustworthy generation. The problem we face is not the outlawry of the atomic bomb or the control of fissionable matter, but the control of man. Nothing less than the redemption of man will meet our present need.

We are profoundly thankful that the Church is placing the emphasis under the New Life Movement on the way of salvation. The enormity of our responsibility, and the adequacy of our gospel, drive us to our ministry.

*Pacific Islands Trusteeship**

A RENEWAL of the heated debate which has characterized trusteeship discussions ever since the San Francisco Conference was foreshadowed on November 11 when Soviet Ambassador Nikolai V. Novikov voiced sharp criticism of the eight trusteeship agreements under discussion in the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. Attacking both the substance of the agreements and the procedure by which they were negotiated, he notified the other fifty delegations on the committee that, in Russia's opinion, the agreements were only preliminary drafts which required considerable improvement. Four days earlier, in striking contrast, American spokesman John Foster Dulles had not only declared that most of the agreements were "generally satisfactory" but had proposed that all members of the United Nations forego formal classification as "states directly concerned" in order to prevent "interminable and inconclusive" procedural discussions. The Soviet and American representatives were in harmony only on the urgent necessity of establishing the Trusteeship Council during the present session of the General Assembly.

The problem of arriving at a formula satisfactory to all parties has not been simplified by the action of the United States in making public on November 6 its proposed trusteeship agreement for the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific. Since the United States has designated these islands as a strategic area, the American agreement—in conformity with Article 83 of the United Nations Charter—will be submitted to the Security Council rather than to the General Assembly for approval. Although this means that the Assembly's Trusteeship Committee is not called upon to discuss the American agreement, the terms which the United States proposes for the Pacific islands will inevitably influence deliberations on the other eight agreements.

Who Is "Directly Concerned"? On November 7, Mr. Dulles presented to the committee a novel interpretation of the controversial Article 79 of the United Nations Charter, which provides that the terms of trusteeship "shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power." Mr. Dulles contended that it is legally proper, as well as the fairest and most workable procedure, to interpret this article to mean that, in the case of mandated territories, only the mandatory power is a "state directly concerned." No one will deny the American contention that the charter is "awkward and ambiguous" on this point, but most observers will agree with Ambassador Novikov that the American interpretation is a contradiction of Article 79. Why did the United States make this proposal? The official explanation is that prolonged controversy over the legal, geographical, economic, cultural, and ethnic contentions of various states claiming to be directly concerned might lead to an impasse which would prevent creation of the Trusteeship Council. But there are other reasons. If the American interpretation of states directly concerned were accepted, the United States would have passed the first stage of procedure in getting its trusteeship proposals for the Pacific islands approved. In the process, it would also have by-passed possible Russian claims. Mr. Novikov insisted, however, that a definition of "states directly concerned" should be worked out by a subcommittee.

Shadow of the Veto. The shadow of the veto also crept into the trusteeship discussions. In arguing for his interpretation of the "states directly concerned," Mr.

* From *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, November 15, 1946. Used with permission.

Dulles expressed opposition to the importation of "the veto system into the work of the Assembly." When Mr. Novikov responded that the Soviet delegation knew of no one proposing to introduce such a veto, he was taking the American representative too literally. It is true that no nation can exercise a veto in the Assembly, where each trusteeship agreement must be approved by a two-thirds vote. What Mr. Dulles meant was this: If the Trusteeship Committee defined the "states directly concerned" in such a way as to include, for example, the Soviet Union, and if the Soviet Union then refused to agree to the terms of a particular trusteeship agreement, it would in effect exercise a veto power and prevent the agreement from even reaching the floor of the Assembly. The United States agreement designating the Pacific islands as a strategic area, however, will have to be approved by the Security Council, where it could be vetoed by the Soviet Union, Britain, France, or China (the charter requires seven votes, including those of the Big Five).

"Take It or Leave It." The Washington Administration's formal declaration of intentions to place under trusteeship "the Japanese mandated islands and any Japanese islands for which it assumes responsibilities as a result of the Second World War" is gratifying. Valid objections, however, can be raised against the accompanying publication of the actual terms of our draft trusteeship agreement for the Pacific islands. Not only are the terms laid down by the United States unsatisfactory, but from the point of view of political strategy their presentation at this time raises two serious difficulties. On the one hand the United States, by confronting the United Nations with what has been called a "take it or leave it" agreement, has given moral encouragement to the South African delegation in its effort to annex the former mandate of Southwest Africa. On the other hand the Administration has weakened its bargaining position by announcing detailed claims in the Pacific long before it takes up the general Far Eastern peace settlement.

Article 13 of the United States trusteeship proposals represents the most striking departure from the terms of the other eight draft agreements. This provision grants the United States the right to determine the extent to which Articles 87 and 88 of the United Nations Charter (providing for rights of inspection, petition, etc.) may be applied "to any areas which may from time to time be specified" by the United States as "closed for security reasons." This elastic clause is a potential threat to the trusteeship system's most vital guaranties to native peoples. True, the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas, numbering more than 600 islands and 800 coral reefs, have a total land area of only about 1,000 square miles and a population of approximately 50,000 natives. But the United States, by actively promoting their social, economic, and political development under a more liberal interpretation of the trusteeship system, could set important precedents for the policy of other colonial powers.

VERNON MCKAY

The General Assembly Recommends

The 158th General Assembly, at its meeting in May, 1946, urged "the President and the Congress to declare a policy whereby none of the islands taken from Japan during the last war will be placed under unilateral control and use by the United States, whether as strategic areas or bases; but, rather, will be placed under the control and supervision of the United Nations."

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Christ was the major strategist of all times. Basic to his teachings were the ageless principles he laid down. The application of these principles led him into difficulty with those in power—into difficulty that finally led to the cross. Yet the cross signifies the possibility of a better way of life for those who would follow him. The application of the principles taught by Jesus is just as difficult and just as unpopular in our day as in his—but just as necessary.

The 80th Congress

As our newly elected Congress comes into session there are many matters to come before it to which we, if we would apply our Christian principles, should give concern. There will be many questions we should raise as we read the press, hear the radio, or contact our Congressmen.

International Policy. In the field of foreign affairs the picture is not clear. Senator Vandenberg states that there will be no change in the bipartisan policy that has been followed. However, a consideration of the as yet unsettled problems before us should lead us to seek, in the light of Christian principles, answers to such questions as the following: (1) Should there be appropriations for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, for the Food and Agriculture Organization, and for loans to small European countries through the export-import bank? (2) Should the next Congress favor world-wide reduction in armaments and abolish conscription? (3) How should the proposals in relation to atomic energy and trusteeship (the Pacific islands in particular) be settled? (4) Should the manufacture of atomic bombs cease and should the steps be taken that are necessary to insure international control of atomic energy?

For guidance in writing your Congressmen on any of these points reread the sections on "Atomic Energy and International Relations" in *Christian Citizenship*, the report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, as adopted by the 158th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Order this report through any Presbyterian Book Store. Free.

Industrial Policy. During the life of the 79th Congress labor gained through passage of the Employment-Production Bill, but lost when the Case Strike Control Bill was passed. The majority of bills favored by labor were not passed, but many anti-labor bills also were killed.

Such questions as the following should be considered from the standpoint of Christian citizenship: (1) Should the present minimum wage of 40 cents per hour be raised to the 65-cent minimum advocated during the last Congress? (2) Should Social Security be extended to cover agricultural, household, and other workers not now included under the act? (3) Should a broad program of public works be adopted so as to provide public housing, better roads, more bridges and power dams, and soil conservation? (4) Should there be a revision of tax policy and subsidies for both agriculture and manufacturing? (5) Should more adequate health, welfare, and education legislation be passed? (6) Can the Congress avoid the passage of such legislation as would further widen the breach between management and labor?

The Industrial Relations section of *Christian Citizenship* throws light on these issues.

Agriculture. The budget for agriculture is about the same as in 1937 and 1938. It includes soil conservation, research, forestry, rural extension services, school lunches, loans to farmers. Frequently those services designed to help the small family-size farm have been the ones first indicated for budget cuts. Do we want the appropriations for

any or all of these agricultural services to be cut? Are we concerning ourselves with the matter of legislative aid for rural education, health, and housing?

The pronouncements of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on agriculture as recorded in *Social and Moral Welfare, 1910-1945*, state the Church's views on these matters.

Racial and Cultural Relations. In this field the application of Christian principles should lead us to reconsider the possible passage of a fair employment practices act, a poll-tax bill, antilynching laws, and legislation regarding the problems of our Japanese-American citizens.

Legislation Ahead. Regardless of political affiliations or predilections we shall fall into the grave error of past political thinking if we as Christian citizens depend blindly on either the majority or the minority party organization to bring about the enactment of laws necessary to accomplish our social objectives. The only sure method is for us as individuals to be ready to think and act constructively through a knowledge of the issues lying behind any proposed legislation. In all likelihood many bills dealing with the following questions will come before our 80th Congress. As these bills are introduced in Congress, single copies may be obtained, free, by writing to Superintendent of Document Room of the United States Senate or of the United States House of Representatives, Washington 25, D.C., according to whether a Senate or House bill is desired.

In the International Field

Senate:

- Atomic energy
- Trusteeships
- World disarmament

House of Representatives:

- Funds for export-import bank
- Funds to feed stricken countries
- Funds for Food and Agriculture Organization
- Funds for Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
- Aid to displaced persons

In the Domestic Area

- Conscription
- Antistrike measures
- Minimum wage
- Amendments to Social Security Act
- National housing
- National health
- Tax revision
- Public welfare

- Cancer research
- Federal aid to education
- Missouri Valley Authority
- Japanese-American claims
- Anti-poll-tax
- Fair employment practices
- Antilynching
- Appropriations for public works

State Legislatures

January, 1947, will find many sessions of state legislatures coming into session. Watch for bills there, also, that have to do with taxes, labor, health, mental health, civil rights, fair employment practices acts, poll tax, alcohol, gambling, penal institutions, and relief grants.

The Church and Democracy

(Continued from page 3)

But what precisely is to be implied from the application of Christian principles to our national life today? We can ignore the negative aspect of the answer, for we are only too familiar with the repeated condemnations of much that is inadequate and unjust in our social and economic life. What is all-important is the positive, the creative side associated with the present and the future, rather than with the past.

First, we as Christians necessarily reject completely and absolutely the Nazi materialist conception of society, which is the right to dictate by brutality, turning the human individual, made in the image of God, into nothing more than one of millions of cogs in the machine of material efficiency, and the unlimited persecution and enslavement of all by a self-chosen class or race.

As a positive alternative, we insist upon the dignity of human life and the right of all persons—whatever their class, creed, or color—to contribute equally to the orderly development of their and our civilization. This must follow from the basic Christian teaching of the brotherhood of all peoples.

This does not mean that we do not realize to the full how hard is the task of defeating the evil and establishing the good. We know this to be a task that will not be over when we have destroyed Nazism and its cruel power. We shall still encounter many other evil forces, enemies to our Christian objectives.

Indeed, the call for Christian self-sacrifice may well be greater and will certainly be no less than it is today. We shall have to devote ourselves to the establishment of social justice as strenuously and as wholeheartedly as during the war. There must be no letup until we have won the peace, for it is inevitable that the struggle for social justice will be a long and arduous one.

Second on our positive list of Christian advocacy, we declare for a democratic way of life, because only in that can we give value to Christian brotherhood in our national life. The very idea of dictatorship is wholly contrary to that equality which brotherhood implies; nor can we acknowledge any human being as supreme or as fit to control and order the destinies of others, whether in the political, social, or economic spheres of our life.

Our form of democracy, whatever the technical experts make of it, must enshrine a real equality of opportunity throughout every field of human activity. We must persist in this demand until we are satisfied that we have achieved it.

Beyond these broad principles, however, we can still indicate practical and immediate objectives in the field of social and economic justice. I emphasize the word "practical" because we must realize that there is a limit to the speed with which change can be carried through—short of an overturning by violent revolution—though that limit is not nearly so slow as some would have us believe.

We might well adopt as our Christian objectives the list of the five simple desires of the people of America, as expressed by President Roosevelt:

1. Equality of opportunity for youth and others.
2. Jobs for those who can work.
3. Security for those who need it.
4. The ending of privilege for the few.
5. The preservation of civil liberties for all.

Certainly none of us would deny that these five requisites are based upon elementary principles of Christian justice.

Some might seek to go much farther toward a real social and economic equality, but if we could fully accomplish only these five objectives in a comparatively short period, we might at least claim to have played some part in carrying out our Master's direction: "This do, and thou shalt live."

Perhaps it would be wise to spend a moment in emphasizing the implications of this list of objectives. There is little value in setting out objectives unless we are determined to take the steps necessary for their attainment. If it is agreed that they are the embodiment of fundamental Christian principles, nothing should stand in the way of their realization.

Yet perhaps we ourselves are standing in the way; we may be part of some vested interest, financial or otherwise, which would have to be swept aside in order to reach our objective. It may be that our way of life, our comforts, habits, or customs would have to be interfered with.

If jobs are to be provided for all those who can work, great changes will be needed in the planning and organization of production, for such a thing has never been possible in the past, since industry was mechanized. If privilege is to be ended, we must be prepared to give up our own privileges with the rest, not excluding the Church's privilege of endowment and of establishment.

If there is to be equality of opportunity for youth, then our children must share a common and equal system of education. If security is to be given to all who need it, we may have to forego many things in order to provide with certainty the necessities that others require.

These examples will indicate how deep are the implications that we as individuals must face, that the Church must confront, if our Christianity is to become a living force, and if the rule of God is to permeate our society.

The Church itself must show its faith in its own message, regardless of all cost, for either the Christianity in which we believe is no more than the whited sepulcher of the Pharisees, or it is the most real thing in our lives. No Church dares preach social salvation unless it works for social justice.

As for the rest, the hardest part of our task will be to convince the world that no

private or selfish interest is to be allowed to stand in the way of the full application of the principles in which we believe. Those principles must be given preference over material gain and advantage. But we must first show by example the strength and power of our faith. To that end we must band together in the fellowship of our religion. Our principles must not only be applied in persuading others to act, but they must become part of our own fanatical convictions, controlling our every action.

There can be no excuses for neglect and no cooling of our enthusiasm, if we are to succeed. People speak of frustration, of life without a purpose, but here, in the carrying out of our Christian duty, lies the greatest of all purposes, the fulfillment of God's intention, and through that fulfillment the creation of happiness and joy in the world.

At no time has the challenge to our personal faith been more insistent than it is today. The world is reeling under the blows of a brutal and materialistic aggression; but we shall not succeed by outdoing the brutality and materialism of the evil forces that are against us. Our strength must be based upon our faith in God and in humanity. It is tragic for the world that this moral power and dynamic will for victory over evil should remain locked in our hearts and be of little avail in the struggle for supremacy.

Neither the Christian community nor the Churches have yet used the key that can unlock this great potential force; sometimes it seems that they have lost the key, hardly being concerned even to search for it.

When we come to see our objective clearly, we shall not see an easy and pleasant path, but a hard and difficult way, fraught with danger. At the end of that road we shall, however, discern our goal, the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth, the social salvation of our people and of the world.

Sanctuary

The New Year—1947



“O where are kings and empires
now

Of old that went and came?

But, Lord, Thy Church is Praying
yet,

A thousand years the same.”

An Act of Remembrance and Commitment

Leader: Here is my servant whom I uphold, my chosen one, my heart's delight; I have endowed him with my spirit, to carry true religion to the nations. He shall not be loud and noisy, he shall not shout in public; he shall not crush a broken reed, nor quench a wick that dimly burns; loyally shall he set forth true religion, he shall not be broken nor grow dim, till he has settled true religion upon earth, till far lands long for his instruction.¹

The People: The life of Christ concerns Him who being holiest among the mighty, and mightiest among the holy, lifted with his pierced hands empires off their hinges, and turned the stream of centuries out of its channel, and still governs the ages.

JEAN PAUL RICHTER, 1763-1825

Leader: The Church is catholic, universal; so are all her actions; for all mankind is of one Author, and is one volume; when one man dies, one chapter is not torn out of the book, but translated into a better language . . . but God's hand is in every translation, and his hand shall bind up all our scattered leaves again for that library where every book shall lie open to one another.

JOHN DONNE, 1573-1631

The People: God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

¹ From *The Bible: A New Translation*, by James Moffatt. Used by permission of Harper & Brothers, publishers.

Leader: O Lord, thy Church is praying yet
The People: A thousand years the same!

Prayers Through the Ages:

Remember, O Lord, according to the multitude of thy mercies, thy whole Church; all who join with us in prayer, all our brethren by land or sea, or wherever they may be in thy vast kingdom who stand in need of thy grace and succor. Pour out upon them the riches of thy mercy, so that we, redeemed in body and soul, and steadfast in faith, may ever praise thy wonderful and holy name. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Greek Church Liturgy, Third Century

O Thou good omnipotent, who so carest for every one of us, as if thou caredst for him alone; and so for all, as if all were but one! Blessed is the man who loveth thee, and his friend in thee, and his enemy for thee. . . . I behold how some things pass away that others may replace them, but thou dost never depart, O God, my Father supremely good, Beauty of all things beautiful. To thee will I intrust whatsoever I have received from thee, and so shall I lose nothing. Thou madest me for thyself, and my heart is restless until it repose in thee. Amen.

Saint AUGUSTINE, A.D. 354-430

He comes to us as One unknown, without a name, as of old by the lakeside he came to those men who knew him not. He speaks to us the same words: "Follow thou me!" and sets us to tasks he has to fulfill for our time. He commands. And to those who obey him, whether they be wise or simple, he will reveal himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in his fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience who he is.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER, 1875—

In the culture of the past, thou, Christ, art the only modern. None felt with thee the sympathy for man as man—hopeless, friendless, homeless, landless, healthless. Thou hast broken the barriers of caste; thou hast reached the last motive for charity—the right of hunger to bread. O Son of Man, thou hast been before us. Thou hast outrun our philanthropy; thou hast anticipated our benevolence; thou hast forestalled our charity. Thou hast asserted the sacredness of human life; thou hast outstripped both Peter and John in the race to the ancient sepulchers of humanity; at the end of all our progress we have met thee. Amen.

GEORGE MATHESON, 1842-1906 (Adapted)

God of all nations, Father of mankind, we would serve thee more worthily in the establishment of a world of peace and justice for all thy children. We confess that our visions have been limited, our wills have been often weak, and our efforts have been inadequate. We acknowledge that the grave crisis of the world is partly of our making. We have wandered from thee. In penitence, we would commit our wills to thy holy will. In humility, we turn to thee for help. Enlarge our visions, that we may see more clearly the needs of humanity and the ways by which we, in our several walks of life, may help to meet those needs. Strengthen our wills that we may in quiet confidence persist in the lifelong task of building world order. Reinforce our endeavors for a just and lasting peace, we beseech thee, that out of our weak efforts may yet come great good for thy Kingdom. In the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Prayer for World Order Sunday, 1946.

The Labor Situation

(Continued from page 7)

ing up. In the curious, half-free, half-controlled economy of the first post-war year, Mr. Truman tried to please everyone and took a variety of contradictory positions. Soon after the collapse of Japan, he announced that he would not "lay down the law to business and labor." Though some semblance of wage control was necessary as long as price control lasted, he looked to "free and fair collective bargaining" to bring about industrial peace. Later Mr. Truman was to find himself deeply mired in the General Motors, steel, and railroad wage disputes, proclaiming his own figures for a fair settlement down to the last half cent. In the oil, meat-packing, and soft-coal strikes he was driven to the ultimate intervention—Government seizure.

Round and Round

This strange interplay of forces is not likely to be reproduced. In the stock market break of September, 1946, in the wholesale scrapping of expansion plans there are already reminders that sellers' markets do not last forever. The special tax situation that encouraged industry to take a hardboiled line is passing. Profits are something to worry about once more. The unions, having drawn heavily on their treasuries and the endurance of their membership are likely to be less militant. Everyone who wanted to blow off steam has had, to put it conservatively, a fair chance.

The Outlook

What is the outlook? There is no reason to believe that labor peace will blossom in the United States within the next decade. A new major force is present in the country's political economy. Its significance is probably as great as the rise of industry in the nineteenth century; its institutional form, the union, is as portentous

as that of the corporation. One important thing to remember is that the union, like the corporation, is a man-made institution and hence susceptible of modification and control. The struggle to curb and regulate the power of big business was long and bitter, and over the last half century the uneven pressures for reform have whittled it down to size—that is, to the point where the public good is recognized in law and in fact as transcending the special interest.

The process of whittling unionism down to size is probably about to begin. Reasonable people don't want to destroy the union; such extremism at this junction of history is as senseless as the opposite desire to destroy corporations because business has created a number of social ills in the process of creating wealth and jobs. The problem is a problem in reform.

In this connection it is worth pointing out that reform to be successful is usually (a) based on sound broad theory, and (b) applied specifically. For example, abridgment of the right to strike is something to be undertaken with the greatest reluctance. The price that would be exacted (in the form of Governmental intervention and restriction of freedom) might be too high. There is, however, a question of whether in the fields of communication, transportation, and other public utilities, perhaps even coal, the time has not come to prevent both employers and employees from ignoring the public welfare in their disputes. In most cases the industries involved are effectively removed from the area of competition, enjoy monopolistic franchises, and are already regulated by public bodies in the public interest. To carry the process one more step, i.e., to regulate their labor relations, is not revolutionary. But the fact that it may prove essential to regulate labor relations in public-service industries is not a good reason for regulating them in automobiles, steel, or other relatively competitive industries. Strikes, after all, are not the worst things in the world.

The Workshop

School of Missions Program. The Graystone Presbyterian Church, of Knoxville, Tennessee, conducting a series of six Wednesday-evening meetings, has selected as its theme "Christians and Race." To assist with the devotionals it invited to its first meeting the local Negro minister, his wife and mother-in-law, the Negro high-school choir and choral director, and the Negro woman Bible teacher in the local Negro schools. All were guests at the dinner that preceded the meeting. The program was well received.

Church Women in Action. 1. In a letter to President Truman by the Presbyterian women of Tulsa, Oklahoma, the following resolution was submitted: "Believing that peace in the world can be brought about only through the application of Christian principles, and that those of avowed Christian attitudes should be members of the commissions dealing with world problems: be it resolved, that the Women's Association of the First Presbyterian Church of Tulsa, Oklahoma, recommends to the President of the United States the name of Mrs. Harper Sibley, president of the Council of Church Women, as a representative on either the Human Rights Commission or the Economic and Social Commission."

2. "Church women have the force and the philosophy needed by intelligent citizens," declared Mrs. Gebhard, of Oak Park, Illinois, chairman of a pre-election meeting attended by 125 alert and vocal members of sixty-five Protestant Churches in Chicago. The delegates heard election issues discussed. Proofs of ballots and demonstration voting machine were displayed. No recommendations on candidates were made, but women were exhorted to look for fairness and a capacity for growth in nominees for national and state legislatures.

Christianity at Work. Of real significance is the following item printed in a Northern newspaper about a Southern convention: "It was a coincidence that the Georgia Baptist Convention (white) and the State Negro Baptist Convention met the same week in the same city—Savannah. The fellowship of Christianity turned the coincidence into a historical precedent, for the leaders of the white Baptist convention voted to invite the Negro convention to hold a joint session with them. It was done without a dissenting vote. It had never happened before in the deep South. Every believer in racial tolerance hopes it will happen again and again and again."

Negro Student Elected Moderator. The Westminster Fellowship Council of the Chicago Presbytery has elected Adolph Slaughter, a Negro high-school student, as moderator. He was chosen for the highest position of responsibility among the young people who represent 123 Churches because of his capability and his proven capacity for leadership as an officer in other youth projects. He plans to study for the ministry.

Synod and Presbytery Reports. Typical is that of the Synod of Minnesota recommending to Churches problems for study and action with emphasis always on their own community responsibility: (1) Pastors are urged to make available to parents books and other material on child training and family life and information and ratings on motion pictures and radio. (2) Alcohol education—co-operation with Temperance Movement in the state and letters to legislators in behalf of abolition of liquor advertising. (3) Concern for Christian citizenship, use of the ballot, land survey and improvement, housing, jobs, migratory laborers and for the care of mentally ill.

Should the C.O.'s Go Free?

(Continued from page 8)

those sentenced to imprisonment belonged to Jehovah's Witnesses, a stiff-necked and peculiar people who took no stand on the war itself, but claimed that each and every member of their Church was *ipso facto* a minister of religion and therefore entitled to absolute exemption. Failing this concession, they would do nothing. In general, they drew stiffer sentences than other C.O.'s, but they were definitely conscientious objectors by religious belief.

Congress, in the original draft act, set just and reasonable terms on which a man "conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form" might substitute work "of national importance under civilian direction." Pay for such service in C.P.S. camps or projects was not to exceed Army scales. But in practice Selective Service by administrative regulation put C.O.'s to work in Government camps without pay, without family allotments, and without insurance or accident compensation. They got nothing but a pin-money allowance of \$2.50 a month. Where Church groups managed C.P.S. camps, they were compelled to pay thirty-five dollars a month for the support of each C.O. These impossible conditions, in apparent contradiction to the intent of Congress, drove many C.O.'s to desert the camps, with consequent prison sentences.

Local draft boards made their decisions on the good or bad faith of asserted conscientious scruples as best they could, according to their lights. Some refused to believe that a Methodist or a Catholic or anybody not a member of the historic peace Churches like the Friends could possibly be a sincere C.O. Reviewing authorities were not much clearer on many points, and the courts up to the Supreme Court—Justice Murphy dissenting—agreed that no judicial relief was possible until the individual obeyed the induction order.

This was what many C.O.'s felt was against their deepest convictions.

Sentences imposed by the courts on convicted offenders varied very widely. The average was 30.6 months, higher than the punishment given to dope peddlers, white slavers, or mail swindlers. But in Vermont, during the year ending June 30, 1943, the average was 1.1 months; in South Dakota during the same period it was 55.7 months. Everything depended on the Federal judge hearing the case.

Today, in the Northwest, C.O.'s are let off or given a suspended sentence. In the East an overage objector—thirty-one—who had been in Civilian Public Service since June, 1942, when he was drafted, recently received a six months' term in prison for walking out of a mental hospital where he had been assigned to work as an attendant. During his more than three years in C.P.S. he had volunteered as an experimental guinea pig in important vitamin and cerebral blood-flow tests.

The picture is confusing, as it always is when the ideal of individual liberties comes in conflict with the necessities of total war. In all civilized, democratic countries freedom of conscience is one of the most jealously guarded human rights. But when the national existence is deemed to be at stake and when the law requires all male citizens of certain ages to serve, the conscientious objector must suffer for his belief. Generally, the climate of war being what it is, he suffers rather more than he should.

But in all free, civilized countries, it is also true that when the danger is ended and the emergency over, Governments of that kind restore as quickly as possible the normal state of affairs. To extend an amnesty now to conscientious objectors could do no possible harm, and would follow a sound American tradition recognized by such widely different Presidents as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Calvin Coolidge.

About Books

Peace of Mind, by Joshua Loth Liebman. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

This book has received considerable commendation in academic and liberal religious circles. In fact, the jacket of the latest edition has no less than seventeen statements of testimony in praise of the merits of the volume.

The author is the rabbi of Temple Israel in Boston, and there is nothing particularly new about what he attempts to do, namely, to show how psychiatry and dynamic psychology may be used to assist and strengthen religious concepts and practices. In the first part of the book the reader cannot help gaining the impression that the *summum bonum* is psychiatry rather than religion, although in the chapters on grief, death, and faith in God, Rabbi Liebman turns his emphasis to religious concepts.

To most Presbyterians this book will not be very satisfying. Although he speaks of the necessity of emotion in religion, one gets the impression that Rabbi Liebman's religion is a rather academic affair. There is a certain element of Stoicism in it all. He minimizes the omnipotence of the Almighty, saying, "There is a chance here in America for the creation of a new idea of God; a God reflected in the brave creations of self-reliant social pioneers; a religion based not upon surrender or submission, but on a new birth of confidence in life and in the God of life."

The two groups who will probably benefit most from this work are (1) the religious people who do not feel that psychiatry and psychology have anything to contribute to the practice of religion and (2) the devotees of psychiatry and psychology who have no use for religion. Rabbi Liebman does an admirable job of pointing out the common grounds of these two areas of life. Not being a profes-

sional worker in the psychological field, I do not know how much of this area he surrenders. But in the religious field, I, personally, feel that I would surrender more than I would gain if I adopted Rabbi Liebman's scheme in its entirety.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Faith and Reason, by Nels F. S. Ferré. Harpers & Brothers. \$2.50.

This is the first in a series of volumes on reason and the Christian faith being prepared by the professor of Christian theology at Andover Newton Theological School. It is inspired by the conviction that the basic problem of thought today is the relation between faith and reason.

Defining religion as "our normally necessary whole-response to what is considered to be most important and most real," Professor Ferré proceeds to test it against the facts of knowledge and actual life. First, he analyzes the nature, competence, and limits of the scientific method, then the method of philosophy, and finally that of religion.

The chapter on "The Circle of Science" is especially clear and detailed in showing the limitations and abuses of the scientific method as a means of discovering the nature of ultimate reality.

Thirteen characteristics of the scientific method, which may be abused, are thoroughly discussed: tentativeness, description, denial of freedom, incapacity to deal with motivation, exclusive objectivity, false standards for the social sciences, inability to answer the question "Why?", inability to deal with the ultimate, relativism, emphasis on analysis and criticism with corresponding lack of emphasis on appreciation and creativity, pluralism, reduction of truth to fit the method of the laboratory, and the tendency to split value from existence.

The chapter on "The Circle of Philosophy" is much shorter. It opens with a comparison of the field and function of philosophy as compared with that of science and then turns to a similar comparison of the field and function of philosophy and religion. Philosophy is inclusive, coherent, and objective; religion is inclusive, coherent, and subjective. "Philosophy is the sum and substance of rational knowledge while theology is the synthesis of faith and knowledge."

The chapter on "The Circle of Religion" is the longest, and rightly so, because the circle of religion takes in the whole of life, and, unlike the other two circles, cannot be completely drawn. "Religion is our actual whole-response to our inescapable ultimate." The first part of the chapter takes up the five characteristic standards of religion. In the second part these standards are applied in seeking an answer to the question of meaning and purpose in our existence. Evolutionary materialism, i.e., the thesis that the higher can be completely accounted for by what came first in temporal or causal relationship, is examined and rejected. Descriptionism, i.e., truth is what we know as we know it and describe it, is also examined and pronounced inadequate. Possibilism, i.e., whatever can become actual at any time was always possible, although held by many thoughtful scientists and philosophers, is likewise unsatisfactory.

Turning to the conjunctive use of the here and now as the standard of truth, Professor Ferré cites two typical examples. The first holds that God is finite and grows with the process, but a finite God offers no adequate solution to the problem of evil. The second holds that imperfections and evil are perpetual parts of process. Then how can a God be perfect whose creation must ever remain imperfect?

Professor Ferré then advances as his view the concept of "the most high" as "the most real," because the highest can

be explained in no terms less than itself and because only the highest emergence is able to explain the relation between continuity and discontinuity. The most high compels our actions, demands our whole-response, is alone sufficient to assure us of the ultimate victory over the problems of evil that beset us, and satisfies the needs of the whole man. In advancing this view Professor Ferré takes up a position much like that of Karl Heim, of Tübingen, in his analogy of dimensions.

"Faith and Reason" and "Reason Must Become Religious," two articles that have previously appeared in *Christendom* and *Theology Today*, appear here as appendices. In the first the conclusion is reached that faith and reason must not be confused, need not conflict, but need each other. In the second he discusses three kinds of rationalism and three kinds of antirationalism and their relations to religion. The third kind of antirationalism is revelation, which he in turn breaks down into three kinds, taking his stand on the Augustinian-Anselmian *credo ut intelligam* in which emphasis falls on both parts of the sentence with the stronger stress on the first part.

Professor Ferré has written a very closely reasoned and painstaking work which will repay careful study. Portions seem overlabored and might be abbreviated with some gain in clarity.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

The Rebirth of the German Church, by Stewart W. Herman. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

The author of this book was one of the first American Churchmen to re-enter Germany in 1945. Previously during a seven-year stay in Europe before the war, he had been pastor of the American Church in Berlin for some time, and also a member of the American Embassy Staff. He writes from experience that qualifies him as a competent observer. As the book cover indicates, also, the material is pre-

sented with an introduction by Martin Niemoeller who hopes that the book may advance the ecumenical spirit.

The first five chapters give the events before and during the war which led up to the situation calling for a rebirth. Facts are well documented. Anyone desiring to study the Church under pressure in order to see what human leadership does will find cases here set forth. The last five chapters tell of the slow, painful process of repentance, of the laying of new foundations, of the suffering from hunger and lack of life's barest necessities, of the returning soldiers to whom the "first taste of 'home' was unbelievably bitter," and of the grounds for hope.

Writing as the author had to do, in the midst of the events of the last chapters, he could not be sure how long wholesome tendencies would continue. For example, there is ground for hope both on the author's part and on that of Dr. Niemoeller that repentance among leaders of the German Church was real. Dr. Paul Hutchinson, writing in *The Christian Century*, August 21, 1946, some time after the material for this was prepared, reports after an interview with the German Church leader that "the Niemoeller summons to repentance has not been widely heeded." I suppose one should not be in any way surprised. History offers very few cases of real repentance on the part of Church groups. They call others to repentance but they cannot repent themselves—at least they do not.

The book gives a realistic account and a moderate estimate of the future. "A new beginning has been made; in fact, the Church in Germany seems to have been reborn." The key word is "seems." The author endeavors to make no categorical statements which subsequent events may belie.

"But, will it live?" He does not venture to predict.

JOHN C. WHITE

Must Men Hate? by Sigmund Livingston. Crane Press. \$2.50.

Here we have an extensive and fairly successful effort to sketch the sordid history of anti-Semitism; to show how modern man and society are heirs, unaware, to a birthright of ageold prejudices, and to answer one by one some of the malicious charges hurled against the Jews.

In part one the author gives specific illustrations of how some juvenile literature, even nursery rhymes and fairy tales, plants in fertile young minds a stereotyped caricature of the Jew. Discussion of literature used in adolescent education is limited to Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* whose Shylock soon became the symbol of a Jew to the English-speaking world.

With encyclopedia thoroughness the author exposes such forgeries as the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," translated into many languages and widely distributed by anti-Semitic groups.

In numerous brief essays the author discusses almost every facet of the problem. Of special merit are: "Nazi Propaganda in America," "The Myth That the Jew Is Rich," "Jewish Contributions to Civilization," "Credits and Debits in Behavior," "Differences Between Judaism and Christianity," and "The Complacent Jew and the Complacent Christian."

But this is not the book it could have been. The style is frequently monotonous and awkward and the material is not well organized. Section after section concludes with moralistic admonitions that seem to ignore the insights of previous pages. Perhaps the most serious inadequacy is the lack of historical or psychological analysis. Anti-Semitic attitudes, past and present, are described with scholarly detail but they are not related other than in a superficial way either to the great social forces and epochal events of world history or to the nature of man.

—N.E.K.

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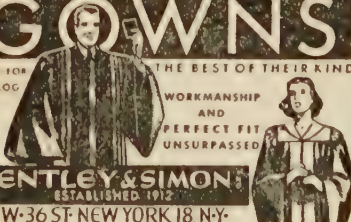
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Universal Training

An Editorial

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S appointment of his new Advisory Commission on Universal Training brings into sharp focus the old issue of universal military conscription. The President, in his informal remarks to the Commission, stated, "I don't like to think of it as a universal military program." However, our reaction to the program must be determined by what it is. This will be known when the Commission makes its report and our judgment of that program will be made then. But we should now be reaffirming the principles on which we stand. The War Department, in its 24-page pamphlet, states that "universal **military** training is the most economical approach to the development of a sound military policy for the United States." The advantage of this statement, both for the defense and the opposition, is that it takes a position. Mr. Truman's sincere remarks gave the program such latitude that it is difficult to avoid confusion. The President said: "I want our young people to be informed on what this Government is, what it stands for—its responsibilities. And I think the best way to do this is through a universal training program. . . . I want it to be a universal training program, giving our young people a background in the disciplinary approach of getting along with one another, informing them of their physical make-up, and what it means to take care of this temple God gave us."

Such training is fundamental to our democracy and has been the responsibility of the Church, home, and school. If these institutions fail in this critical assignment—to send disciplined, intelligent, and reverent personalities into life—we have no other source to which we can go. Military training or conscription has no word of life in such an extremity. We must restore the foundations of our homes, our Churches, and our schools to secure the training they alone can give. By the record of over 150 years in Europe, conscription has proved no panacea and offered no salvation. It has been roughly 150 years since Napoleon started with conscription in Europe. Today, Europe's homes are in ruins, and millions of her young men, all of whom had the advantage of conscript training before war, are dead. Thus tragically the nations testify, "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Can a generation that has taken the atomic bomb hope to live by it? There is much more that must be considered before the 80th Congress acts on this present program. The March issue will offer a more comprehensive treatment of the subject in line with our General Assembly Pronouncement.

Visions of Greatness

By H. Richard Rasmusson *

ALFRED WHITEHEAD is quoted as once having said, "Moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness." This could be said of everything. "Where there is no vision, the people perish," said the prophet. That which gives to any people its stability and strength are the moral visions that pervade its life. What are some of these? I should like to suggest four.

I

The first vision of greatness, then, that I invite you to consider, has to do with being our "brother's keeper." Now in an interdependent world, it is imperative that we answer it affirmatively. For only so can we heal and hasten our sick world on the road to recovery and make an abiding peace.

Someone has reminded us that Cain, who asked the Lord, "Am I my brother's keeper?" as if to say that he was not, was a nomad. But we are living in a closely knit civilization; forty hours air speed close to everywhere; and to be indifferent to human welfare anywhere on earth is to breed the conditions that may in time make everyone on the earth sick with war or unemployment or disease.

* Minister, University Presbyterian Church (all student), West Lafayette, Indiana.

Did you read what one mother wrote in *Time* magazine of May of last year? She was concerned that the children in Europe be fed. She knew that embittered, hungry, savage children would grow up morally weak, hostile to their conquerors, ready in time to goose-step to the music of another Hitler. "I pray God," she wrote, "to let him [her two-year-old boy] go a little hungry now so that he need not die 20 years from now. I know that if one child in the world is allowed to stay hungry, my children rise empty from our bountiful table. Sooner or later the bell will toll for them—I *am* my brother's keeper." This is clear-headed realism and the vision of greatness. It applies equally in the realm of politics. It isn't making a soft peace, but a sensible one.

II

A second vision of greatness is knowing what the world's sickness and malady really is. Until we diagnose correctly the disease, we cannot cure. We need to realize that the world's sickness is deeper than the men who were tried in Nuremberg. Nazism wasn't the real cause of the trouble in Europe; that was deeper, much deeper. And the failure to see it and deal with it will be perilous for the peace now and later.

Nazism was not "a purely German phenomenon." "The German nation," writes Joseph L. Hromadka, a great Czech, "has only the dubious merit to have become the carrier, representative, and instrument of what he calls the philosophical, moral, and spiritual disintegration of Europe." He goes on to say: "However, the body of the whole modern society has been infected with the bacilli of cynicism, spiritual indifference, pessimism, and fatalism, which are the incubators of tyranny and unfreedom. Only a tremendous spiritual struggle against the powers of evil . . . will . . . lay the new, reliable foundation of the new world order."

Because the spiritual convictions of people around the world were weak or destroyed, tyrannies sprouted like evil weeds. When such Hebraic-Christian convictions as the worth of man, the sanctity of life, the meaning of community, the equality of people, are destroyed, human decency is destroyed. To see this and believe it is a vision of greatness.

III

A third vision of greatness is the truth of one God and one humanity. The great seers of mankind have always preached this truth. Marcus Aurelius said: "*My city, my country, so far as I am Antoninus, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world.*" Confucius said, "All within the four seas are brothers."

And Jesus said, "One is your Master, . . . and all ye are brethren."

Sir Eric Drummond was for a number of years secretary in the League of Nations organization in Geneva. But Dr. Nitobe paid him this tribute, and it is a tribute to real greatness: "He was a member of the white race, by birth an Englishman, by geography a European, by religion a Roman Catholic, but in the seven years I worked with him in Geneva, I never knew him to take a position concerning any international problem in terms of a limited category. Always his concern was for humanity."

Aye, what would happen around the world if men and women, our political, economic, labor, religious leaders always took a position for humanity and refused to think in terms of a limited category? Because we usually think in terms of a limited category, we are snarled in our diplomatic relationships, confused in our economics, and divided in our interests.

IV

The final vision of greatness that I stress is the co-operative community of love. There is an allegory that pictures what that community would be like. An anthropologist died and went to heaven. Being a scientist, he wanted to investigate hell before entering heaven. This he was permitted to do, and when the ebony doors were opened he saw be-

fore him a vast table spread with such varieties of food as he had never seen. But around the table sat cadaverous folk, emaciated and starving, their arms bound in front of them straight and stiff with splints so no one could get his hands to his mouth. It was ghastly, horrible, and he begged to be allowed to enter heaven. But when the glittering portals opened what should he see but a vast table laden with food from every land, and persons sitting around the table with arms bound straight and stiff in splints, but those people were sleek and happy. "I don't understand," he said to the angel. "The circumstances are just the same—with this eternity of difference!" "It's all quite simple, really," said the angel. "You don't feed *yourself* with your

arms like that; but you can feed your neighbor. Up here, you see, we have learned to feed each other." So! And such is the co-operative community of love.

"Live and let live!" was the call of the Old—

The call of the world when the world was cold—

The call of men when they pulled apart—

The call of the race with a chill on the heart.

But "Live and help live!" is the cry of the New—

The cry of the world with the Dream shining through—

The cry of the Brother World rising to birth—

The cry of the Christ for a Comradelike earth.¹

INCIDENT ²

Once riding in old Baltimore,
Heart-filled, head-filled with glee,
I saw a Baltimorean
Keep looking straight at me.

Now I was eight and very small,
And he was no whit bigger,
And so I smiled, but he poked out
His tongue, and called me, "Nigger."

I saw the whole of Baltimore
From May until December;
Of all the things that happened there
That's all that I remember.

—Countee Cullen.

¹ By Edwin Markham. Used by permission of Virgil Markham.

² By Countee Cullen. From *Color*. Copyright, 1925, by Harper & Brothers.

Interfaith Teamwork

*By Mason Rutledge **

INTERFAITH teamwork is like atomic energy in one important respect. Its potentialities for human betterment, particularly in the home community, have hardly been touched. The opportunities are so many, and the field so broad, that any interfaith program is limited only by the energy and resourcefulness of its participants.

Co-operation between different denominations is solidly rooted in American history. The good Ben Franklin, ever on the alert for new ways of promoting the public welfare, was one of the early pioneers in the field. Reared as a Presbyterian, Franklin conceived the idea of an interfaith house as a common meeting ground for all religions. This remarkable institution was established "expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia."

To trace the kinship of modern religions in meeting community problems, it is necessary to go back much farther than the beginnings of the Republic—back to the origins of the religions themselves. Both Christianity and Judaism are based on a fundamental faith in one God, who created man in His own image.

Both believe in the dignity and worth of the individual human being, in the freedom of human will. These concepts lead to a mutual conviction that men have the power and the moral duty of advancing the social welfare of their brothers.

Brought by a common ethical heritage to a compelling realization of their obligation to the community, Jews and Christians have long met that obligation with enthusiasm and understanding. Protestant Churchgoers in particular, co-operating with their Jewish fellow townsmen, have more often set the pattern for community leadership than any other intergroup team. Moreover, experts in neighborhood relations testify that as soon as Jews and Protestants provide the initiative, other groups—religious, labor, business, fraternal, and civil—willingly join to make a community-wide program.

Our Presbyterian Church has long been recognized as a foremost voice for progress. Church endeavors can, however, be even more effective if other community forces are enlisted. The trend is more and more for religious leaders to seek as wide a base as possible for community action, at the same time broadening the range of activities in which the Church is logically concerned. Forward-thinking ministers realize today that

* University professor and magazine writer.

the spiritual needs of the congregation can never be divorced from its other human needs, no matter how far afield they may seem at first glance. Neighborhood health, crime, education, housing, recreation, culture, employment opportunities, interracial understanding, and a host of similar needs are as much the responsibility of the religious group as of other civic bodies.

The way to start in meeting those needs is for Church and synagogue to join forces. From a practical viewpoint, the two institutions lend themselves admirably to joint effort because, in most localities, they are organized along similar lines. Each has its Men's Club, Women's Guild, Young People's Club, etc. A pair of these social organizations, one Protestant and the other Jewish, often proves the best possible combination for solving a town problem, whether it be raising funds for the Community Chest, advising the school board on a critical matter, securing a playground, combatting juvenile delinquency, or initiating some urgent reform. It remains only to start the ball rolling; other groups will readily respond.

Do not underestimate the social side of such ventures. The chances for success of any project are immeasurably increased when the individuals undertaking it find they enjoy one another's company. Informal, get-acquainted hours produce personal friendships of lasting

value. Meeting together to plan a project can contribute to building interdenominational good will, thus strengthening the cohesiveness of the whole community. However, never forget that the get-together, no matter how pleasant, is but a means to an end. That end is the project itself. More undertakings have met untimely deaths by never getting beyond the let's-talk-it-over stage than from any other causes. Nine out of ten persons attracted to a discussion are those who need not be "sold" on it; it is the absentees who need convincing.

This is doubly true of any project which touches on racial or religious differences, real or imagined. It is not too difficult to achieve unity around the table. The real problem is to win support among the prejudiced and indifferent who are not present. Hence, talking of unity must swiftly result in convincing action.

The prospective planner has a galaxy of examples to inspire him in shaping his own program. The ways of Christian-Jewish teamwork are many. Only a few fields in which outstanding successes have been scored can be mentioned here:

Veterans Service. Pressing requirements of returning soldiers have been successfully met by interfaith committees. In many communities, housing surveys have been made, turning up unused rooms or whole buildings which have been

converted into veterans' homes. Others provide job-placement services, educational and vocational guidance, and special social activities for veterans and their families. Returning chaplains are especially well equipped to guide such endeavors. Encouraging former chaplains to extend their good wartime work into postwar activities, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz recently declared, "Because of the fraternal working together of the chaplains of all faiths, thousands of men have learned a new respect, surmounting prejudice, for one another's faith."

Camps. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish youngsters of many nationalities enjoyed a full program of outdoor activities at a unique interdenominational "Midget Sky Camp" organized last summer on the roof of the Presbyterian Labor Temple in one of New York City's most congested areas. Other Jewish-Christian groups have sponsored successful summer camps in the countryside to care for city children.

Community Center. Neighborhood houses where all faiths and ages can meet have been outstandingly useful. A notable example is the Stuyvesant Center of Brooklyn, New York, sponsored jointly by Church, youth, social service, and racial groups. This Center has its own building, with gymnasium, workshop, kitchen, arts and crafts rooms, and auditorium.

Labor Council. Leaders of

three faiths in San Antonio, Texas, established a council which volunteers mediation services in local industrial disputes. "We possess at least the advantage of impartiality," its founders point out.

Exchange of Pulpits. Trustees of the Universalist Church urged all clergymen to invite Jewish rabbis to occupy their pulpits while they attended the General Assembly of the Universalist Church last April. This dramatic instance of the now-common practice of exchanging pulpits is rightly termed "a symbol of common brotherhood." Some congregations have gone one step farther by attending religious services of other creeds.

Music of the Faiths. In the belief that religious understanding is furthered by an appreciation of the cultural traditions of the various creeds, Dr. H. Augustine Smith, of Boston University, has conducted three-week musical festivals devoted to religious music in several California centers. Along similar lines, six lecture-recitals, "Music of the Faiths," were given in New York City's Town Hall last winter.

Teen-Age Canteen. The well-tested role of the recreation center in preventing so-called juvenile delinquency among teen agers makes this sort of project particularly worthy of interfaith sponsorship.

Helping Those in Need. Protestant and Catholic clergy in Dallas, Texas, launched their own campaign

to help their Jewish neighbors to raise funds for the United Jewish Appeal in behalf of war victims in Europe. The call was immediately taken up by Dallas newspapers and aroused city-wide enthusiasm.

Combating Prejudice. Trouble-brewing organizations founded on the "divide-and-conquer" theory of fomenting religious bigotry and discord have proven impotent against well-directed action on the part of forthright citizens. A typically outspoken stand was taken recently against the Ku Klux Klan by the Georgia Baptists, the state's largest denomination. The declaration stated, "We deplore any effort on the part of any group to stir up racial or religious prejudice in our state or anywhere in the world."

Clergy Council. Citizens of Freeport, Long Island, look to their interfaith Clergy Council for leadership in community matters. Through its Institute of Community

Affairs, the Council works with other civic groups to formulate plans affecting health, schools, Red Cross activities, Church attendance, and fund-raising, etc. Grateful Freeporters recently presented a testimonial to the Council which said, "It is our prayer that the ideals and hopes of the Council may prevail in every community of the world and usher in an era of universal brotherhood and good will among men."

Home-town programs like these provide our best hope for the "era of universal brotherhood" which the people of Freeport envisage. Stirred by the example of Jew and Protestant—brothers in action as in ethical inheritance—other members of your community will be galvanized into shouldering their responsibilities to their neighbors.

This highly rewarding work has many faces but only a single direction: the achievement of the democratic Kingdom of God on earth.

A I M S—Resolutions

In a current issue a Philadelphia newspaper reported that among others were the two following resolutions adopted by the Association of Interns and Medical Students during its recent three-day convention at the University of Pennsylvania: (1) "A I M S is unalterably opposed to any form of discrimination on the basis of color, race, religion, sex, or economic status in the admission to undergraduate or medical schools, internships or residences; and proposed that admission be on the basis of ability only"; (2) "A I M S urges legislation that will guarantee the availability of medical care commensurate with the furthest advances of medical sciences to all people regardless of racial, economic, or social status."

Proposed Federal Labor Legislation

By Joseph H. Ball*

IT IS as certain as anything ever is in politics that labor legislation and its consideration will be a major issue in the Eightieth Congress, to an even greater degree than it was in the Seventy-ninth Congress. All public-opinion polls place labor legislation at or near the top of the domestic issues on which the people believe Congress should act.

Legislation in this field proposed or discussed falls in five general categories, which can be stated briefly as follows:

1. Legislation strengthening and improving Federal mediation machinery for peaceful settlement of labor disputes.

2. Legislation placing on unions and their leaders responsibilities commensurate with the economic power they wield today, limiting union encroachment into management functions and otherwise more nearly equalizing the collective bargaining positions of unions and employers, which in recent years have become badly unbalanced on the side of unions.

3. Legislation protecting the rights and freedoms of individual workmen against abuse by union

leaders or majorities, and establishing minimum standards of democracy for unions.

4. Amendment of the Wagner Act to make it more impartial and to bring it up to date.

5. Legislation dealing with the extremely grave and urgent problem created by industry-wide bargaining and the consequent threat of industry-wide shutdowns in the production of goods or services vital to the nation's economy.

The general terms of legislation dealing with points 1, 2, and 4 have been fairly well indicated by previous legislative attempts. But the formulation of a legislative approach to the third and fifth problems, which probably are the most serious we face, is still ahead of us. It is to these questions, then, that this article is addressed.

The legislation *acted* upon by the Seventy-ninth Congress dealt entirely with problems 1, 2, and 5, although except for the Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill, none of it became law.

Federal Mediation Machinery

In passing the Wagner Act in 1935, Congress specifically adopted the principle that assurance to workers of the right to organize and bargain collectively would bring

* United States Senator, Republican, from Minnesota; journalist and political writer. Condensation of article appearing in *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1946. Used with permission.

about, or at least promote, industrial peace. That something more is needed has now become obvious. Outside of the Railway Labor Act, which sets out in detail the mediation and adjustment procedures which both parties to a dispute must exhaust before there is a stoppage, no Federal statute imposes any obligation on either employer or employee beyond collective bargaining, and the unions are under no legal obligation even to do that. In other words, if collective bargaining results in a disagreement and threatened strike, all the Federal Government can do is ask the disputants to submit to mediation or arbitration.

The only mediation agency in the Government outside of the National Mediation Board, established for railways alone, is the Conciliation Service in the Department of Labor, which functions directly under the Secretary. Inasmuch as the Secretary of Labor is required by statute (the organic act creating the Department) to be a partisan of organized labor, this Service can hardly be considered either adequate or impartial—characteristics essential for an effective mediation service on which all students agree.

Protecting Individual Workers

There have been no carefully worked-out legislative proposals dealing with our third problem, that of protecting the rights and free-

doms of individual workers in this day of closed-shop contracts. A constitutional amendment asserting the right of every citizen to work was offered by Senator Andrews, of Florida, but died on the Senate calendar. The original B-B-H Bill was proposed to amend the proviso legalizing closed-shop contracts now in the Wagner Act to prohibit such contracts to unions which arbitrarily restrict membership or deny members expelled a fair hearing; but this measure was not considered in committee.

It goes without saying that the right of an individual to work and earn a livelihood is even more fundamental in a free democracy than the right to organize and bargain collectively, and it may be necessary to affirm this right by a constitutional amendment. While probably confined to a minority of unions, there is no question that many individual workers have been coerced and bullied by union leaders; that accounting for funds is very lax in some cases; and that in a few unions democratic procedures in holding elections and in considering contracts or disputes are a farce. Likewise, there are too many instances where unions enjoying a monopoly on employment opportunities by reason of closed-shop contracts have arbitrarily restricted such opportunities to a chosen few.

Nearly all of the hundreds of let-
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Implications of Atomic Energy

*By E. U. Condon**

DURING the past year there has been great development of public information and concern about the atomic bomb, and considerable progress has been made. A year ago the Special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy was being organized and was starting the study that led to adoption of the McMahon Bill. This bill vests full control over our atomic energy affairs in a civilian commission. With the full backing of President Truman, it was passed by Congress last summer. After careful study the President has appointed the commission which now must perform the difficult task of taking the project over from Army management.

On the international front the first step was taken last fall in Washington, at the conference of Prime Ministers Attlee, of Britain, and Mackenzie King, of Canada, and President Truman. Decisions were made that led to the proposal to form a United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, this commission to make specific proposals for an international agreement by which the atomic bomb would be truly eliminated from every national armament.

* Scientific adviser, Senate Committee on Atomic Energy; director, National Bureau of Standards; and president, American Physical Society, Washington, D.C. Condensed from an address delivered at a recent conference of Churchmen and Scientists in Philadelphia.

It was understood at the outset that a mere renunciation of the bomb was not enough. The agreement must include effective and enforceable safeguards against violation.

My role here is to summarize the main facts in the scientific and technical situation which are germane to the study of its moral and social implications.

I do not believe that the atomic bomb, nor the development of biological warfare, rocket missiles, and so on, has changed the moral problem of war qualitatively. War and the burden of preparing for war have been a curse on human society from the beginning of time. What is different now is that, in all sober honesty, we may conservatively expect that the next major conflict will completely wipe out civilization.

We have a tendency to avert our eyes from the horror of the war just ended. We should spend more time looking at the available pictures of the devastation wrought by the Germans in Poland, in Russia, and the Ukraine all the way to Stalingrad, in Greece and in England, and by ourselves in Italy and in Germany. We should reflect that all that was done without atomic bombs. We should study the damage we did with fire bombs and ordinary explosives in other cities of Japan, in addition

to our concern with the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with one atomic bomb each.

We should consider the technical perfection of the V-2 rockets fired on London, not one of which was intercepted by any defense means, and of the probable improvements that can be made in long-range rockets. We should think more about biological warfare. Somehow not nearly enough attention has been paid to this subject in comparison with that which has been devoted to atomic energy, probably because the subject has not been dramatized by actual employment in war. However, enough has been made public to give us a general picture of what to expect.

During the war we learned how to make botulinus poison in large quantities. This is the active toxin that used to be occasionally responsible for deaths from eating improperly canned food. George Merck says it "is the most potent biological poison known to man."¹

A biologist friend of mine says that one ten millionth of a gram of botulinus is a lethal dose. Otherwise expressed, one ounce is enough to make lethal doses for each of about 280 million people. Still otherwise expressed, one half of an ounce is enough to wipe out the entire population of the United States.

It is very stable and can be dispersed in a mist or fog over a city.

If a person does not become infected by breathing some of this mist, then he is quite likely to get a lethal dose from eating food on which the stuff has settled. Other poisons can kill off the plant crops of an entire nation, leaving the population to starve. Merck says, "The work was initiated to find destructive agents against various crops and was successful." Only the ending of hostilities prevented field trials in an active theater of war.

The biological techniques involved in this work are much more widely known than atomic energy techniques, and are much simpler. It seems reasonable to assume that other nations right now are capable of doing the same sort of thing in this field that we know how to do.

In some respects then, these facts seem to me to make the need for world organization for peace even more necessary and urgent than the crisis which was presented to us by the atomic bomb. Attention has been focused too narrowly on international control of atomic energy during the past year. Control of atomic energy is important, but it is not enough. I am afraid that this point has been overlooked by many of us.

Much of the discussion on control of atomic energy has centered around the question of its technical feasibility. The plan developed in the Lilienthal-Acheson report on

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¹ George Merck, in *Science*, May 31, 1946.

Are Restrictive Covenants Democratic?

*By Homer A. Jack **

DON'T fence me in!" That is the plaintive cry of 350,000 Negro citizens of Chicago—Negro citizens who have fought for democracy on the battle front and the home front, Negro citizens who have produced more than their share of Marian Andersons, George Washington Carvers, and Duke Ellingtons.

And yet, merely because of their badge of color, Negroes are limited to well-defined and inadequate areas of Chicago and are prevented from residing in many sections of Chicago and other cities. Prior to the First World War, there was little housing segregation—even in the South. What concentration there was was chiefly due to poverty. But today an iron ring keeps out the middle class and the rich Negro as well as the poor one. And the fences around the so-called Negro ghetto are maintained by every available technique: persuasion, ostracism, violence—and always supported by legal devices.

During the First World War the idea was conceived of setting aside by ordinance sections of a city wherein Negroes and certain other peoples could not live. In 1917, however, the United States Supreme

Court held that municipalities could not erect racial zones. But certain people still wanted to keep Negroes out, and clever lawyers hit upon the restrictive covenant.

A restrictive covenant is an agreement among property owners in a small neighborhood, binding them not to sell or rent property for a definite period of years to specified classes of people. These may be Mexican-Americans, Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Jews, Catholics—but most often in the Chicago area restrictive covenants are drawn to exclude Negroes.

The Oakland-Kenwood Property Owners Association has recently drawn up what it advertises as a fool-proof covenant which says that "the term 'Negro' as used herein shall include every person having one eighth part or more of Negro blood." If one of a man's eight great-grandparents was a Negro, he is disqualified from owning or renting in great sections of Chicago and many other cities. Even the notorious Nuremberg laws in Nazi Germany reached out only to one's grandfather!

Restrictive covenants, like the Nuremberg laws, are based on a series of lies, of myths that I should like to expose.

The first myth is that Negroes
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*Executive Secretary, Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination. From a radio address over Station WGN, Chicago.

Liquor Control in Canada

*By R. C. Chalmers **

ACCORDING to the British North America Act, the matter of liquor control in Canada comes under the jurisdiction of the Provinces. Under the War Emergency Act, the Federal Government brought in certain liquor restrictions, thereby overriding Provincial Authority in the interests of national safety. However, at the present time the Federal Government is gradually turning matters concerning liquor distribution back to the Provinces.

On February 1, 1943, all liquor advertising in Canada was banned on the radio and in the press. At the present time Church and temperance bodies are requesting the Provincial Governments to continue this ban indefinitely, and some of the Provinces have already indicated their intention of doing so.

The question that has taken on significance in temperance work in Canada in recent years is the nationalization of the liquor industry. In 1936 the General Council of the United Church of Canada adopted a statement on "Control and Profit in the Liquor Trade." This statement presented arguments for and against nationalization of the liquor industry which may be summarized as fol-

lows: that the private operation of the traffic has been and is a most pernicious influence in social and political life; and that there are no insuperable legal, constitutional, or economic barriers to nationalization and, therefore, it should be considered as one method of advance for temperance. Over against this it was stated that the evil influence of the traffic might also continue to corrupt Governments under public operation; that there is a danger of the Government's relying too much on revenue derived from the traffic; and that it is as morally wrong for the Government to handle alcohol as it is for private interests.

This statement was sent down to the courts of the Church for study. Then, in 1944, at the meetings of the Eleventh General Council, this highest court of the United Church adopted a resolution favoring the principle of nationalization of the liquor industry, which reads as follows:

"Whereas it is now apparent that the immense financial revenues behind the liquor traffic constitute the greatest obstacle to its being handled effectively, this Council hereby approves of the principle of nationalization of the alcohol industry. The profits thereto should be so applied as to avoid corrupting Governments

* Associate Secretary, Board of Evangelical and Social Service of the United Church of Canada.

or entrenching the traffic behind public revenues. Nationalization, as a means of eliminating the profit motive and private monopoly control, should not be regarded as a final solution of the liquor problem but as a forward step toward such solution. We urge the Federal Government to give consideration to this proposal."

We believe that "the most dangerous enemy we face is not the drinker's thirst for alcohol; it is the seller's thirst for gold." We believe that we have certain controls over any representative Government which we do not have over private industry. We believe with the Rockefeller Commission that "only as the profit motive is eliminated is there any hope of controlling the liquor traffic in the interest of a decent society. To approach the problem from any other angle is only to invite failure."

It will be of interest to note some of the facts that relate to the alcohol industry and lead the United Church's General Council to take action favoring nationalization. "In 1927 the Canadian Government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate customs and excise matters throughout the Dominion. This Commission collected a tremendous mass of evidence all given under oath, which revealed that in many cases representatives of liquor manufacturing concerns had been guilty of fraud, forgery, and perjury. It was admitted that illicit dealers were supplied with liquor and that when

any of these dealers were convicted and fined, the brewery from which they had obtained their beer shared in their fee. It was revealed that liquor money was freely used to bribe officials whose sworn duty was to enforce the law. Testimony was also given that certain breweries and distilleries had made very large contributions to campaign funds of both political parties."

More recently, developments in the brewing and distilling industry have shown that liquor has developed into a financial empire whose power is felt in many aspects of our economic life. For instance, in 1938 the sales of Seagram-Distillers Corporation were \$81,577,919. In 1945 this company's sales exceeded \$400,000,000. According to the *Financial Post*, the gross profit in 1945 for Hiram Walker Gooderham and Worts Ltd. was approximately \$50,000,000. The consolidated net sales ranged from \$68,000,000 in 1939 to \$254,618,161 in 1945.

E. P. Taylor, Chairman of Canadian Breweries Ltd., which has ten breweries in Canada alone, has become our leading Canadian industrialist. Mr. Taylor has a large interest in, or controls, several restaurant chains, grocery stores, bakeries, candy companies, soft drink companies, lumbering companies, farm implement manufacturing concerns, publishing houses, insurance companies, and many other lines of

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United Nations Assembly—The Record

From The New York Times, Sunday, December 15, 1946. Used with permission.

WHAT follows is the record of the second meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, both of its agreements and of its disagreements. Its function is to recommend measures relating to the co-operation of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security. The General Assembly is also dedicated to "assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all." Politically, it is the basis for the whole United Nations organization. As a world forum in which all fifty-four member nations have equal vote, it has great moral force.

The session of the General Assembly which was concluded on December 15 is the second part of the first annual meeting. The first session, in London, lasted from January 10 to February 14, 1946.

The General Assembly's work is accomplished through six permanent committees, as follows:

1. The Political and Security Committee.
2. The Trusteeship Committee.
3. The Economic and Financial Committee.
4. The Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee.
5. The Administrative and Budgetary Committee.

6. The Legal Committee.

The work of these six committees and the subsequent actions taken on their recommendation by the Assembly will be translated into action by the standing organizations of the United Nations.

The record of this meeting is set down under six headings which correspond to the six committees of the Assembly:

Security Questions

Disarmament. The action taken in this field is considered one of the major accomplishments of the present session. In the background were two impelling factors: (1) the effort to establish international control over the use of atomic energy, embodied in differing American and Russian proposals before the Atomic Energy Commission; (2) a Soviet proposal, aimed at Britain and America, that all United Nations members reveal the strength and location of their armed forces in non-enemy states. The latter had been placed on the Assembly's agenda.

From these starting points came the discussion of disarmament. It was launched in the Assembly by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov on October 29 when he asked the Assembly to study a general reduc-

tion of armaments. The American delegation endorsed the idea with the provision that it include effective safeguards through inspection. There followed a series of moves and countermoves, centering chiefly in the right of inspection. The Political and Security Committee adopted a resolution calling on United Nations members to report the numbers of all their armed forces, at home and abroad, by January 1. Although originated by Russia, the resolution had been so heavily amended before adoption that the Russians opposed it.

The situation was dramatically resolved when a general disarmament resolution was unanimously adopted by the subcommittee, and the troop survey was recommended for discard. The following day the Assembly unanimously adopted the disarmament resolution, and over Soviet objections referred the question of arms and troop data to the Security Council.

Among the recommendations of this far-reaching resolution are the following: (1) a special session of the Assembly to consider measures by the Security Council to reduce and regulate armaments; (2) elimination of atomic and other mass-destruction weapons; (3) establishment of inspection safeguards, not subject to veto, against evasions of disarmament agreements; (4) speed-up of plans for an international police force under the

Security Council; (5) balanced reduction of troops in former enemy territories.

The Veto. During the past eleven months the Big Five veto power in the Security Council has been used eight times: seven times by Russia alone and once jointly by Russia and France. In addition, the United States and Britain used the threat of a veto twice.

This question brought one of the longest and most complicated controversies of the session. Two lines of attack developed: (1) a Cuban proposal for revision of the charter to eliminate the veto; (2) an Australian resolution condemning the use of the veto in the Security Council and asking the Big Five to do something about it.

The Big Five powers were unanimously against fundamental revision of the veto, and all except Russia favored a resolution asking "moderation" in its use. In the final week of committee meetings the Cuban proposal was voted down and a modification of the Australian plan was adopted over Russian opposition. As it emerged, the resolution asked the Big Five to make every effort in consultation to see that the use of the veto did not "impede" the Security Council in reaching decisions promptly. This was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 36 to 6.

Spain. The continuance in power of the pro-Axis Franco regime

in Spain has been a problem for the Allies ever since the defeat of Germany.

Three new resolutions submitted to the Assembly came up for action. One, by Poland, called for a collective break in diplomatic relations. Another, by White Russia, asked for economic sanctions. The third, by the United States, was a resolution calling on the Spanish people to supersede Franco by a democratic government.

The problem was referred to a sub-committee, which the British charged was packed with "interventionists." This group recommended a break in relations. But in the full committee the proposal lost by a tie vote. Then a compromise was adopted, asking that the chiefs of mission of all United Nations member states in Madrid be recalled. This was passed by the General Assembly by a vote of 34 to 6.

Trusteeship Questions

Mandated Territories. The charter provides that the trusteeship system shall apply to territories placed under the system by means of "trusteeship agreements." Such areas may be of three classes: (1) mandates, (2) areas detached from enemy states after World War II, and (3) areas voluntarily placed under the system by the administering powers. The charter also provides that the trusteeship terms shall be agreed upon "by the states directly concerned."

The chief argument has centered on whether the transfer of mandated and enemy territories to United Nations trusteeship is obligatory or is left to the discretion of the administering powers. Russia, which holds no mandates, has insisted that it is obligatory. Britain, which is unwilling to surrender its Palestine mandate, and the United States, which desires to retain former Japanese island bases in the Pacific, held that the decision is left to the nation holding a mandate.

Faced with an impasse and desirous of

establishing the Trusteeship Council, the Trusteeship Committee approved eight transfers of mandates submitted to the Assembly but by-passed the larger issues raised.

Just before adjournment the General Assembly accepted the committee's recommendations, clearing the way for the establishment of the Trusteeship Council.

Economic Questions

UNRRA and Food. With UNRRA's relief and rehabilitation activities ending this month, the chief issue was whether allocation of food and other relief items should be handled in the future through an international organization or through bilateral arrangements between the countries contributing and those receiving the food. Most countries favored the first plan; the United States and Britain, which together have financed 87 per cent of the UNRRA budget, favored the second. In the background of the debate was the fear of some countries that bilateral arrangements might result in the use of food as a political weapon.

In the committee meetings British and American opposition to an international agency resulted in the defeat of a plan by F. H. La Guardia, Director General of UNRRA, for the setting up of a \$400,000,000 emergency food fund to take care of the residual problem in 1947. A compromise submitted by Canada, third largest food-contributing country, was finally adopted. This provided for a special technical committee to assess the needs, but left decisions as to allocation to the individual food-exporting countries.

Other measures recommended by the committee included a resolution on the world shortage of cereals which urged Governments and international agencies to spur allocation and distribution of available supplies free of political considerations. A resolution on the economic reconstruction of devastated areas urged consideration of the establishment of an

economic commission for Europe and one for Asia at the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Social Questions

IRO. A special United Nations committee on the world refugee problem met in London last spring and after many disagreements recommended establishment of an International Refugee Organization as a special agency of the United Nations. The recommendation went to the Economic and Social Council. There the draft constitution of the IRO was attacked by the Soviet Union and its allies because of its proposed inclusion under the term "refugees" of persons who do not want to return to Poland and Yugoslavia because of the Leftist Governments in those countries. It was argued that these persons do not deserve international help. However, the Council by majority vote passed a resolution urging approval of the constitution by the Assembly.

The committee took up the question at the present session. Repeated attempts by the Soviet bloc to delete the principle of resettlement from the IRO constitution (except for Jewish refugees and Spanish Republicans) and substitute repatriation, were defeated. Despite Soviet opposition the draft constitution was approved and an interim commission was created to handle refugee problems between the time UNRRA ends its work and IRO can take over. Last-minute divisions over the proposed scale of assessments for the organization brought additional difficulties, jeopardizing the major aims.

Other Problems. Among other items on the agenda were organization of an international press conference and assumption of the League of Nations' narcotics control activities. On the first, the committee adopted a resolution sponsored by the Philippines which calls for the convening through the Economic and Social Council of an international con-

ference on freedom of information before the end of 1947. This conference is to formulate its views "concerning the rights, obligations, and practices which should be included in the concept of the freedom of information." On the second, the committee approved transfer of narcotics control but excluded Franco Spain from participation in the conventions.

Budgetary Questions

U.N. Budget. The principal issue here was whether the proposed budgets recommended by an advisory committee of experts should be trimmed. The attack on them was led by Soviet representatives, who charged that they represented a policy of "haste and waste" and that the United Nations was being flooded with paper work.

The Administrative and Budgetary Committee approved the preliminary budgetary estimate of \$18,912,792 for 1946 and \$27,740,000 for 1947 and sent them to the General Assembly, which adopted them.

IRO Budget. To finance the refugee work approved by the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee, the group recommended to the Assembly a provisional budget of \$160,851,000 for the projected IRO for its first year. The action was taken over Soviet protests by vote of 14 to 6. Subsequently there was a clash over allocation of costs between nations.

Legal Questions

Genocide. At the beginning of the session the Legal Committee was occupied chiefly with routine matters. Subsequently it produced an important pronouncement in the field of international law. This was the unanimous approval of a resolution declaring that the crime of genocide—the mass extermination of racial groups—is a violation of international law for which even "private individuals" may be punished. It called upon member states to enact statutes and proposed an international convention against the crime.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

U. S. Relief Policy in 1947

THE 158th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., declared: "‘If thine enemy hunger, feed him,’ is the will of the Master. Not only our former enemies, but half the people of the world are starving or are in danger of starvation. Nothing could more completely deny all that our faith stands for than complacency in the face of this world need."

Reports from Church World Service indicate the situation to be as follows:

Poland. Seventy per cent of the children are affected by tuberculosis. More than a million are war orphans. Medicines, medical help, care, and shelter, are in desperate demand.

Jugoslavia. Infant mortality averages 30 to 50 per cent of the births. Mothers and babies need milk and nutritious foods to supplement low-calorie diets.

China. In Kwangsi province 90 per cent of the children and adults are in rags and half suffer from malnutrition. In Hwaiyuan, a cholera epidemic has swept one region, leaving the mission hospital there wholly inadequate to handle the emergency. The tubercular rate has nearly doubled in some parts of the country.

India. In many places the situation is even worse than in China.

Greece. Milk, even for children, is practically nonexistent, except for the insufficient quantity sent by relief organizations.

Japan. In the major cities thousands are homeless and starving. The Churches are the only institutions that take any interest in them.

In the light of the present world situation Mr. La Guardia presented a plan to the United Nations for the establishment of an international food fund that would take the place of UNRRA. This plan was rejected by the United States representative with the statement that the "United States

favors a direct and informal consultation between the surplus and deficit countries."

This is a rejection by the United States of international co-operation in a most vital field. We stand at the crossroads of the next war and food can be the deciding factor. Can we persuade our Government to "feed the hungry" on an equal basis of need?

To meet this situation adequately a sound program of action for our Government would seem to be somewhat as follows:

1. In planning the program of relief the factual reports of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations should be used as the basis of deciding need and size of allotments.

2. Appropriations should be made by Congress to pay for allocations on the unilateral basis which the United States is now following. These appropriations should be made by Congress to a general relief fund to be administered by an appropriate agency of our Government rather than allotted by Congress to specific countries. These allotments could then be worked out in accordance with FAO reports and pressures upon Congress for favoritism thus could be avoided.

3. Adequate funds should be made available to the military for relief and welfare work in connection with occupation.

4. If the War Powers Act is terminated, export and import controls should be extended on the same open basis now in use.

5. Funds to the Export-Import Bank should be increased so that the rehabilitation loans needed by many nations can be assured.

Action: These are matters to take up with the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Congressman from your district. Food for the hungry is a matter on which every Christian should make his voice heard.

THE WORKSHOP

Brotherhood in Action

Brotherhood Month will be observed throughout the Church as an opportunity to become better informed as to Christian responsibility in racial and cultural relations.

Groups that have been studying the mission theme "The Christian and Race" will want to focus their concern upon the problems in their own community and plan for appropriate action.

Many pastors will devote their midweek services, perhaps during the entire month, to a study of minority problems.

Leadership training classes, in one Church or in the community, may wisely include courses on this theme.

Young adult groups or groups of young married couples are often eager for a big job to do. They may be invited to face up to this problem, beginning with study and discussion that will eventually develop into concrete action.

Church-night dinners may feature a program, or a series of programs, that will help to build understanding and good will toward other racial and religious groups.

Groups should experiment with various programs such as forums or round-table discussions. Some groups have used the trial technique, placing the community or Church on trial, with arguments and facts presented by prosecuting and defense attorneys, and a decision and sentence presented by a competent judge or jury.

Westminster Fellowship groups should order the free leaflet *Adventures in Fellowship*,¹ which suggests many possible activities to build bridges of understanding between different groups, and also tells how groups may qualify for scholarship awards to send delegates to summer conferences or other Westminster Fellowship summer enterprises.

Christianity and Minority Groups

Information as to speakers or discussion leaders, worship and program suggestions, or ideas for concrete action may be found in the practical packet *Christianity and Minority Groups*.² Various uses will be suggested by the following listing of some of the packet materials:

One in Christ Jesus. A service of worship.

Christianity and the Race Problem. A basic pamphlet presenting a thorough discussion of race from the scientific and Christian points of view.

The Negro in America. A documented study of the problems of democracy with regard to Negro life in America.

What About Our Japanese-Americans? A factual discussion, with a mimeographed supplement covering participation in the war effort and problems of relocation.

The Truth About Anti-Semitism. A keen analysis of Jewish-Christian relations with suggestions for action.

Jews in American Life. A brief account of contributions since colonial days.

The High Holidays. The significance and observance of Jewish holidays.

Christian Social Action and Minority Groups. A descriptive listing of projects for all age groups.

Bibliography and Resources on Racial and Cultural Relations. An annotated listing of pamphlets, books, periodicals, and visual aids, with their sources.

Packet Manual. Suggests how to organize and use the above material for study sessions on four topics:

1. "Christianity, Science, and People."
2. "Japanese-Americans and Democracy."
3. "Negro-White Relations."
4. "Christian-Jewish Relations."

¹ Order from Department of Young People's Work, 4105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

² Order from Division of Social Education and Action, 880 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 50 cents.

Proposed Federal Labor Legislation

(Continued from page 10)

ters I have received from individual workers, mostly union members, since the B-B-H Bill was introduced in 1945 have complained bitterly about this particular problem and have cited individual experiences to show the need for legislation. However, drafting a bill that will protect the individual adequately yet not enmesh the union in a tangle of Governmental red tape is going to be a very difficult task.

It is my conviction that most of these abuses would disappear if the monopolistic and essentially unliberal closed-shop contract was outlawed. The Railway Labor Act specifically prohibits closed-shop contracts, and the brotherhoods are among the best-run and most completely organized unions we have. Once individual workers were free to join or quit a union as they chose, its leadership would be under the same compulsion as applies to elected public officials to do a fair job for the whole membership.

Industry-wide Bargaining

Our fifth problem, that of industry-wide bargaining and its consequences, is at the same time the most serious we face and the one on which so far there is the greatest dearth of ideas that offer much prospect of a satisfactory solution. To realize the seriousness of the problem, one has only to recall the vital products and services affected by industry-wide bargaining as it is now developing—coal; oil; telephone and telegraph communications; steel; railroad, truck, and water transport; and meat packing. In the past year we have had complete, partial, or threatened shutdowns of production in all these industries, and one has only to glance at production figures during 1946 to see what a terrific impact these shutdowns have had on the national economy.

Besides the immediate strangling effect

on the national economy, collective bargaining on that scale has other serious effects. It allows less and less scope for individual plant or employer deviations from the industry pattern to meet special conditions. This was shown up strongly in the steel negotiations, where all plants had to accept the "Big Steel" formula in early 1946. It appears probable that industry-wide bargaining will strengthen the already frightening trend toward concentration of industry in a few giant corporations.

The long-run effect of industry-wide bargaining on the unions may be equally bad, involving more and more concentration of union power and authority in a few hands at the top and less and less real autonomy and bargaining power in membership at the local level. If the experience of the United Mine Workers, where employers and not the union took the initiative in bringing about industry-wide bargaining, is any guide, the ultimate effect on the union will be to weaken, not to strengthen, democratic processes.

I do not believe either employer or union groups are generally awake to this problem, yet I am convinced that both have the most vital stake in its proper solution. The fact is that in a modern, highly integrated industrial economy, no Government that expects to remain a Government can tolerate industry-wide stoppages that threaten to strangle the nation's economy and endanger public health. Government must act; and the continued reliance upon executive action unguided and unrestrained by law is one of the most serious threats to freedom that we face. Government must, in such an emergency, seize and operate the shutdown facilities, either bribing or coercing the workers into returning to their jobs. In the rail and coal strikes of 1946 we saw two ways in which this method of solution leads to great abuses.

In the rail strike, the President singled out the leaders of two brotherhoods for the most vitriolic attack any President in

recent years has made on any economic-group leaders. He made no conciliatory gestures, but threatened to use the Army to break the strike, and finally did break it by the weight of his office, with the brotherhoods accepting his surrender terms. Regardless of the wisdom of that strike, it is a fact that the two brotherhoods involved were clearly within their legal rights. They had bargained in good faith for many months. They had gone through all the lengthy procedures of the Railway Labor Act, and they were actually on strike for just two days.

On the other hand, in his few weeks of meetings with the coal operators, Mr. Lewis did not even pretend to negotiate as any reasonable person would understand the term. His coal miners were out on strike, not for two days, but for eight weeks. Yet the President, through Secretary Krug, first seized the coal mines and then negotiated a contract (which the employers were compelled to accept in order to regain control of their properties) which gave Mr. Lewis virtually everything he had demanded, including a royalty of five cents a ton on coal to go into a "welfare fund" which violated the Administration's own wage stabilization formula; unionization of mine foremen; and application of Federal safety recommendation to the mines—a proposal that had been turned down by Congress.

One has only to consider how this kind of gross favoritism might work with an executive aligned with a particular group of employers or union leaders to see clearly the grave danger to both a free labor movement and a private enterprise economy, involved in this issue. Large segments of our economy could be socialized, in either the fascist or the communist pattern, by a President's leaning in that direction and either forced or permitted to solve this problem by executive action.

The Administration proposed two solutions to this problem in the Seventy-ninth Congress, both labeled "temporary." One

was President Truman's proposal for emergency fact-finding boards, made in December, 1945, which Congress buried in committee after studying the record of such boards in the General Motors, oil, and steel cases. The other was the President's proposal during the rail and coal strikes for emergency legislation giving him authority to seize strike-bound industries, fix compensation of both workers and owners, and compel workers to produce, either by criminal action or by drafting them into the Army. This extraordinary measure passed the House by an overwhelming vote in the midst of the crisis, but was emasculated in the Senate and died in the House Rules Committee.

Other tentative solutions advanced include compulsory arbitration, application in some way of the antitrust laws to such negotiations, and a prohibition of bargaining in units larger than individual plant or employer units.

Self-restraint Preferable

It would be far better if these current problems in labor relations could be cured without legislation, which inevitably restricts the freedom of action of individuals and groups, and, however carefully drawn, may open the way to abuses. Self-restraint in the exercise of our rights and freedoms is always preferable in a democracy to the kind of rigid restraint which becomes necessary when we have to write the limits to freedom into the law. Those limits appear where the exercise of the freedom of one group or individual seriously curtails the freedom of others.

Unfortunately, there is not the slightest indication at present that any such self-discipline is developing or is in prospect. It is folly to expect the leaders of labor to abandon their opposition to legislation seeking to meet these problems. It is to be hoped, however, that the Eightieth Congress will go about the problem, seriously and studiously, as soon as it convenes, rather than await a time of public crisis.

Sanctuary

"That Ye Love One Another"

BUT when ye pray, say *our*—not *mine* or *thine*;
Our debts, our debtors, and our daily bread!
Before the thronged cathedral's gracious shrine,
Or in thy closet's solitude instead,
Whoe'er thou art, where'er thou liftest prayer,
However humble or how great thou be,
Say *our*, thy brother man including there,
And more and more it may be thou shalt see
Upon life's loom how thread to thread is bound;
None for himself, but man and fellow man,
Or near or far, meet on one common ground,
Sons of one Father since the world began.
So shall God's Kingdom come in might and power
When all can pray, not mine, or thine, but *our*.
—Frances Crosby Hamlet.

Call to Worship:

Leader: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you."

People: "Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments."

Leader: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen."

People: "And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also."

Leader: "These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy may be in you, and that your joy may be made full."

Invocation:

Eternal God, Creator and Ruler of the universe, God our Father: we seek thy presence in this hour of worship, that our spirits may be purged by thy forgiveness, our minds enlightened by thy truth, and our lives empowered in the determination to do thy will. Teach us to know thy law. Enable us to obey thy law. Quicken our souls, that in the presence of every decision we may rise above self to the service of thy Kingdom and of its purposes. In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and for his sake, we pray. Amen.

A Prayer of Confession and Aspiration:

O God of truth, who alone canst lead men into the truth that is freedom and joy, be thou our Teacher as we seek to find the way of life in times that bewilder and challenge us. Teach us more of thyself, that we may know better what kind of world we live in, what it can be in thy Providence, what thy will for us is, and what thou canst do through those who give themselves in obedience to thee. Teach us better to know ourselves, that we may see our own sins as clearly as we see the sins of others, and in thy light see what we were meant to be as clearly as we see what we are. Teach

us better to understand other people, that we may view their shortcomings with charity, their virtues with appreciation, and their kindness to us with gratitude.

Father of all men, in whose love mankind is one, and in whose purpose is our hope for a more brotherly world, link us now in spirit with all suffering people, that what we can do we will do for their relief. Bind us in fellowship with all who seek a world ordered in righteousness and peace. Unite us more closely with all the Church of Christ, that in its fellowship he may live with power to draw all mankind unto himself, and to guide our feet into the paths of peace and into the ways of life abundant.

—Adapted.

We Hold These Truths:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

—Declaration of Independence.

"This General Assembly, concurring in the action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, renounces the principle of segregation in race relations as undemocratic and unchristian, and calls upon synods, presbyteries, local Churches, seminaries, colleges, and other Church agencies and bodies to do likewise."

—The 158th General Assembly.

"It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

—Abraham Lincoln.

"Democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people."

—Harry Emerson Fosdick.

"It is not tolerance that one is entitled to in America. It is the right of every citizen in America to be treated by other citizens as an equal."

—Wendell L. Willkie.

Hymn of Dedication:

"I bind my heart this tide
To the Galilean's side,
To the wounds of Calvary,
To the Christ who died for me.

"I bind my soul this day
To the brother far away,
And the brother near at hand,
In this town, and in this land.

"I bind my heart in thrall
To the God, the Lord of all,
To the God, the poor man's Friend,
And the Christ whom He did send.

"I bind myself to peace,
To make strife and envy cease,
God, knit Thou sure the cord
Of my thralldom to my Lord!"¹

¹ From "The Tryst, A Book of the Soul." Used by permission of Rev. Lauchlan MacLean Watt.

Implications of Atomic Energy

(Continued from page 12)

which Baruch based the proposals of the United States to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission is much concerned with technical details.

I believe, as do many others, that these proposals represent a reasonable and workable solution to the technical problem of international control of atomic energy. They represent a careful plan based on the scientific realities of the atomic energy situation.

However, I think that a little reflection will show that the special technical points about atomic energy that make control by an international authority possible do not apply to the case of botulinus warfare. In atomic energy we have the favorable point that the raw material is a rare and unique element making control at the source feasible. But the raw material for botulinus poison is everywhere. In atomic energy the processing of uranium will probably always require large and conspicuous industrial installations, easily discovered by an inspection force. But enough botulinus toxin to wipe out every person in the world could be made with relatively simple equipment in a barn.

Terrible as is the picture of future war which these facts present, I wish to insist that the moral problem is no different now than in the primitive wars of the past. But I think you will agree that there is a new condition of urgency that has never before confronted us.

Lest we incline to the erroneous belief that science rather than war is immoral let us remember that the results of these studies have and are being given useful peacetime applications. Out of the studies on poisons for plants much has been learned that will be useful in improved methods of weed control. This is important, for weeds have been estimated to cost our farmers \$3,000,000,000 annually. Such a useful by-product of the

war research should not be thought of as justifying the research, however, for is it not probable that better results could have been obtained with less trouble if weed control had been the central objective of the program? If weed damage causes such great loss, why didn't we think of setting up a major research program with that purpose in mind?

Under present world conditions, we seem to feel it necessary to spend more than twice as much this year on military matters, not counting cost of past wars, than we used to regard as a very large budget for the entire Federal Government.

It might be well, also, to emphasize that support is definitely being given to positive forces for good in the world. One for whose ideals I have great hope is Unesco, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. But thus far Unesco is not a working organization. And even when it starts to function, its proposed annual budget, not yet approved, is only six million dollars.

The main point I want to make is that we must really come to grips in a large way with all the problems of mutual understanding, adjustment, and good will that confront the peoples of the world. I think that an attempt to deal with the atomic energy problem by itself is a good thing only in this sense: if we succeed, it will be a step in the right direction and one on which we can pattern other steps leading to the complete solution of the problem of lasting world peace.

However, if it should turn out that we cannot successfully isolate this problem for separate treatment from the whole question of achieving world peace, we must not be discouraged, but must simply look for another approach. I feel very much encouraged by the emphasis that has been placed on the real problem of reduction of armaments in the opening speeches of the United Nations Assembly in New York. The problem is difficult, but we cannot avoid facing it.

Are Restrictive Covenants Democratic?

(Continued from page 13)

make bad neighbors. Although most white persons have never had the opportunity of having Negro neighbors, still this is a plausible myth as we ride the south-side elevated and see the Negro slums. But is this filth and disorganization caused by Negroes, or are Negroes, for the most part, unwilling heirs to obsolete neighborhoods and dupes for real-estate interests?

The National Association of Real Estate Boards in a recent survey found that the average Negro takes care of his property if it is in good repair when obtained.

The second myth is that mixed neighborhoods increase intergroup friction. This is plausible again, until one investigates the facts. An unbiased study of the tragic race riots in 1943 showed that "Negroes and whites who lived as neighbors did not fight one another in the Detroit race riots. They had come to understand one another." The truth is that mixed neighborhoods can reduce racial friction.

The third myth is that restrictive covenants are legal and enforceable. Dr. Gunnar Myrdal—the famous Swedish social scientist who made a monumental study of American race relations for the Carnegie foundation—said that "because of technicalities, the United States Supreme Court has as yet avoided the principal issue of the general status of the covenants." Prof. D. O. McGovney, of the University of California, recently wrote that "so far as such agreements operate without state aid they are indeed purely the acts of individuals. But when the discriminatory objectives of private persons cannot be attained without calling upon the state for aid, and that aid is given, unconstitutional action by the state has been taken," for the fourteenth amendment nullifies all state action which denies the equal protection of the law.

The fourth myth is that restrictive covenants preserve property values and raise neighborhood standards. Restrictive covenants hem Negroes in, cause doubling up and other scandalous housing conditions in the Negro ghetto, destroy home life, and produce juvenile delinquency, crime, and disease. And these conditions cannot be hemmed in, but inevitably spill over into adjoining white areas.

The truth is that restrictive covenants restrict the market of property and speed its depreciation by diverting the normal movement of peoples. They are uneconomic, undemocratic, and unethical.

Restrictive covenants are uneconomic because they tend to restrict the natural processes of city development and cause an ever-widening area of slums which returns less to the city in taxes and costs more to service with fire, police, and health protection. For these reasons, the metropolitan housing council and the public housing association have condemned restrictive covenants.

Restrictive covenants are undemocratic because they prevent all types of housing from being available, in normal times, to all people, whatever their race, religion, or national origin, and despite their character or their ability to pay. For these reasons the City Club of Chicago and numerous labor organizations have condemned restrictive covenants.

Restrictive covenants are immoral and unethical because their very existence denies the brotherhood of all men. For these reasons the Chicago Y.W.C.A. and other Protestant organizations, the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and various Jewish groups have condemned restrictive covenants.

Restrictive covenants must go—by court action, by legislative action, by the refusal of property owners to sign these covenants, and by the acceptance by tenants of neighbors without regard to accident of birth.

About Books

Underground to Palestine, by I. F. Stone. Boni and Gaer. \$2.50.

When I. F. Stone, author and Washington editor of *PM*, flew to Europe last year he was undertaking one of the most dramatic assignments ever tackled by an American journalist. He was to report from the inside on the Jewish underground to Palestine, on what he calls "the greatest exodus of a wandering people." This book is the story of a journey which he shared with Europe's homeless, home-seeking Jews.

First he visited several DP camps in Germany where, according to Earl Harrison's report of several months earlier, "We seem to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them." Conditions varied greatly but even in the best camps there was much despair and hopelessness. Only a few of those who had miraculously escaped Nazi extermination dared return to their homes because of continuing anti-Semitism and regarded Palestine as their only hope.

In Czechoslovakia the author joined a group of Jewish refugees who had escaped across the Polish border and were beginning the long underground trek which, they hoped, would end in Palestine. These people bore the marks of their suffering in faces that were shrunken and twisted, in eyes that were "unpleasantly adult before their time," in bodies that were scrawny or squat. But among them he found a buoyant, determined, almost ridiculous, hope.

Accompanying this group across Czechoslovakia into Austria, Mr. Stone heard many stories of mass death and incredible escape, sang with them their songs of incredible hope, and shared the meager food on which they incredibly survived.

After two unsuccessful attempts, and after a rendezvous with the Italian police

that reads like a mystery thriller, he sailed with a thousand and fifteen underground refugees in a ship bound for *Eretz* (Palestine). They were a motley lot, coming from sixteen different countries, the youngest ten and the oldest seventy-eight, but most of them under thirty. The religious Jews represented every variety of Judaism. They shared in common only the tragedy and sorrow of the past, the danger and adventure of the present, and the dream of a new home in a land of their own. This group, unable to get through the British blockade, were interned at Haifa but later were permitted to become the last illegal shipload to be admitted to Palestine.

In closing, Mr. Stone states: "I believe that full support of the so-called illegal immigration is a moral obligation for world Jewry and a Christian duty for its friends. I believe that the only hope lies in filling the waters of Palestine with so many illegal boats that pressure on the British and the conscience of the world becomes unbearable. If those ships are illegal, so was the Boston Tea Party."

N.E.K.

The United Nations, by Louis Dolivet. Farrar, Straus and Company. \$1.75.

Mr. Dolivet, as author, lecturer, and international editor of *Free World*, has closely followed the course of the United Nations since its inception at San Francisco. Previously he attended all League of Nations meetings since 1932 and has recently traveled through western and northern Europe to study postwar public opinion. These experiences have especially equipped him to carry out his self-imposed task of writing an objective and nonpartisan book on the United Nations. Clearly delineated are basic facts as to the structure, purpose, powers, and limitations

of the United Nations. Also included are an informal presentation of the component departments, the men at their heads, and a summary of their activities and duties; graphic charts of the United Nations' structure and interrelationships and appendices containing the text of the charter and statutes of the International Court and lists of key personnel.

Translated into many languages, this book will bring to all its readers a knowledge and understanding of this great world exploration into the field of international organized planning to make practically possible the ultimate goal—good will among men.

G.M.M.

The Concentration of Economic Power, by David Lynch. Columbia University Press. \$5.50.

Perhaps one of the most ominous threats to our democratic way of life is the gigantic concentration of economic power in the hands of relatively few people. The problem is new only in the sense that the concentration has reached proportions undreamed of by even the most vigorous trust busters of past decades. Mr. Lynch has based his study of this problem upon the voluminous testimony presented before the Temporary National Economic Commission established in 1938 for the purpose of "investigating the concentration of economic power in American industry and its effect upon the decline of competition."

At the time of the study, and the number has increased substantially since then, there were thirty corporations with assets of over one billion dollars. Some actually have greater assets than the total property and wealth of the state in which they are chartered—or than most other states. In industry two tenths of 1 per cent of the corporations own 52 per cent of the assets. Among financial institutions the concentration is still higher. But even these statistics do not indicate the degree to which economic power is concentrated.

"The National Resources Committee found that in 1935 there was a Morgan First National Group of forty-one large corporations knit together by interlocking directorships and other associates centering around the 'House of Morgan.'"

Mr. Lynch further states that this group included industrial corporations headed by the United States Steel Corporation, twelve utility corporations headed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, thirty-seven electric generating companies, eleven of the nation's major railroads, and several important financial institutions. "Similar groups are centered around other financial houses."

Testimony revealed that many of the major industries are completely dominated by a few—sometimes by only two or three—giant firms, which certainly is not Adam Smith's economy of small entrepreneurs and free competition. Devout faith in competitive free enterprise was expressed by industrial leaders, but they also acknowledged and defended scores of devices whereby prices are determined collusively and competition—"excessive competition"—eliminated.

Persons who are concerned, and rightly, about the possibility of Governmental regimentation should examine the testimony, as reported by the author, which revealed how smaller firms, when tolerated at all, are compelled to follow slavishly the leadership, in pricing and otherwise, of the great concerns; and how the law and representative Government have been perverted and made to serve the purposes of economic power. Many large corporations have legal staffs that are larger than the whole Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

Further evidence, reports Mr. Lynch, revealed the almost constant failure of our economy, except during wars, to attain full production or full employment despite the existence of vast resources and consumer needs. Some witnesses ascribed this failure to monopolistic tendencies and

prescribed more vigorous enforcement of the Sherman Act as a cure-all. Others detected more basic ailments. The tendency toward monopoly that has continued at a steadily increasing pace through fifty years of antitrust prosecution is due largely to the dynamics of modern technology, which require mass production, and therefore vast accumulations of resources for economic efficiency. The problem is how to preserve the efficiency of mass production, necessary to a high standard of living, yet also to bring economic power under democratic control.

No clear-cut solutions to this problem were presented, but three suggestions were among those offered by witnesses:

1. Government regulation and taxation.
2. Development of co-operatives.
3. Development of strong trade-unions.

From the evidence it was clear, as Mr. Lynch states, that economic power must somehow be democratized if catastrophe is to be avoided. The concentration of control means the concentration of profits and inadequate consumer buying power among the people, which latter is essential to continued production and employment.

Mr. Lynch writes that "there appears to be a close harmony between the measures which . . . promote economic justice . . . and those which increase efficiency and productivity. Ethical standards call for a . . . more equitable distribution of the fruits of production. Standards of economic efficiency . . . seem to call for measures which will increase purchasing power at the bottom of the scale, eliminate hoarding at the top, and promote investment throughout the economy. . . . It would appear that when the economy fails to distribute benefits widely, we have collapse and depression; when it fails the ethical objective, it fails the economic objective."

N.E.K.

Alcohol Reaction at Yale, by Ernest Gordon. The Alcohol Information Press. Single copy \$1.00. Ten copies \$6.00.

This book would be more convincing if the author did not express so pronounced a bias against Yale University, especially the members of the faculty who are engaged in alcohol education. The jeering way in which the author comments on some of the professors and their publications creates a suspicion in the mind of the reader which is pretty difficult to overcome by the arguments in the book.

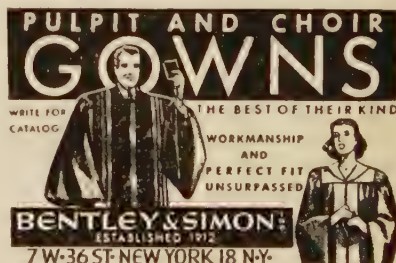
The author's plan is to select statements from the publications of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies and combat them with counterstatements pretty largely from European sources. The end result, from his point of view, is to annihilate the findings of the Yale School to which he objects.

Those who have attended the summer session of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies, by and large are convinced that the Yale faculty is making an honest effort to gather scientific data and make it available for the use of Churches, schools, welfare agencies, and others. There are exceptions: some students, to be sure, who have been at Yale, disagree with the point of view of the teachers.

The author of *Alcohol Reaction at Yale* gives the reader the impression that the Yale School of Alcohol Studies is not honest and that it is doing major harm to the temperance movement. In the judgment of this reviewer, Mr. Gordon's book is worthy of study, but the reader will have to be prepared to make proper discount for the evident bias of the author.

EARL F. ZEIGLER

PULPIT AND CHOIR
GOWNS
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Liquor Control in Canada

(Continued from page 15)

Canadian business. He regards Canadian breweries as "the giant" of this empire. Mr. Taylor states that "in the interests of temperance" he wants to bring the Canadian per capita rate of consumption of alcoholic beverages up to the American level which is now twice as high as the Canadian level of consumption.

It is facts like these that have led many Canadian temperance people to realize that one of the next steps in temperance is to nationalize the liquor industry and thus curtail this drive for profits by the brewers and distillers whose one ambition seems to be to have "more drinkers drinking more."

One reason we shall continue to press for nationalization of the liquor industry in Canada is that no action our Church or any temperance body has taken on temperance for years has so aroused the ire of the liquor interests. Their quick opposition to the idea of nationalization, and in some cases vilification of temperance leaders who promote nationalization, shows that we have touched the sensitive nerve of the liquor industry.

While only one of Canada's four major political parties has committed itself to nationalization, if it gains Federal power, nevertheless, we have already accomplished considerable gains for temperance in exposing to the public view the tremendous financial power of the liquor industry and the monopolistic control it is exerting over many phases of Canadian life.

It will also be of interest to American readers to know that at the recent meeting of the Canadian Temperance Federation, at which Rev. Norman MacLeod, D.D., former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, was elected president, a lengthy statement, concluding with questions on the liquor industry and nationalization, was sent down for study to the Churches and temperance groups represented in this body. It is of special in-

terest to note that the Roman Catholic Church has official representation on the Canadian Temperance Federation.

In September, 1946, the General Council of the United Church of Canada reaffirmed its stand on total abstinence, asking our people to abstain voluntarily for the sake of others, regarding the use of beverage alcohol as a moral issue; that they refrain from offering cocktails or other drinks containing beverage alcohol to their guests on any occasion whatsoever; that they refrain from investing their money in or becoming directors of corporations whose business is in whole or in part the production of alcoholic beverages; and that they form temperance committees whose chief purpose is to be the spearhead of temperance education in the congregation. It urged the Religious Education Council of Canada to produce and popularize a teacher-training course in temperance education; each Provincial Government (1) to place a qualified person in its Department of Education to outline an effective method of temperance education in primary, secondary, and normal schools, suggesting such person might well be sent to the Yale School of Alcohol Studies; and (2) to vote from profits on liquor sales sufficient sums annually to provide adequate hospital care and scientifically conducted clinics for the rehabilitation of alcoholics. Further, it urged the appointment of a Federal Royal Commission to investigate and report on the manufacture, sale, and distribution of beverage alcohol.

There is no short cut we can take to make Canada a more sober nation. The United Church is moving forward on a wide front: nationalization on the economic front, voluntary abstinence on the personal front, scientific temperance teaching on the educational front, and purity of character on the moral front. The powers against us are financially strong and socially entrenched in many phases of life. We must therefore, with wisdom and strength from God, redouble our efforts.

What to Read About Race

Books and Pamphlets

Color Blind: A White Woman Looks at the Negro, by Margaret Halsey. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

Color and Conscience: The Irrepressible Conflict, by Buell G. Gallagher. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

An Enemy of the People: Anti-Semitism, by James Parkes. Penguin Books, Inc. 25 cents.

The Plotters, by John Roy Carlson. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. New York. \$3.50.

Order from any Presbyterian Book Store.

Validity of Anti-Negro Restrictive Covenants, by Harold Kahen. A documented, objective study of the legal status of restrictive covenants. 15 cents.

Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action. A definitive statement from the National Catholic Welfare Conference. 10 cents.

Order from Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, Room 1700, 123 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Segregation—Our Struggle to Wipe It Out. *Survey Graphic*, January, 1947. Articles by America's most distinguished workers in the field. 60 cents.

Order from The Survey, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

S.E.A. Materials

Christianity and Minority Groups. Packet on racial relations. 50 cents.

* **Color and Community**. Program for advanced Church groups. 10 cents.

* **"Come, Let Us Worship"**. Stories of Fellowship Churches. Free.

* **Nosing Out Prejudice**. Project for high-school people and young adults. 10 cents.

* **Brothers in Christ**. A survey "The Negro in Philadelphia" and the report on "The Church and the Negro" describing this survey and proposing a program of action for the Churches of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. 10 cents.

Order from any Presbyterian Book Store. Order starred items from Division of Social Education and Action, Room 830, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Adventures in Christian Fellowship. Westminster Fellowship in Action scholarship program of interest to any youth organizations in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Free.

Order from Department of Young People's Work, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Miscellaneous Materials

Why Not Try Brotherhood. A race relations Sunday packet, consisting of material for general worship, children's, young people's, and women's service programs. Complete packet, 10 cents each; \$5.00 per hundred.

Order from Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

American Brotherhood. Suggestions for observance of Brotherhood Week.

Posters. A set of six colored posters based on the book *One God*.

Order from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

New Technique of Private War

*By E. U. Condon **

LOWER New York Harbor shook that day in 1916. Some freight cars and a barge loaded with TNT and picric acid on their way to the armies of the czar of all the Russias had blown up. The Black Tom explosion was typical of successful ventures in sabotage, a prototype of this stealthy tactic of total war. Agents of the German Government had detonated the shipment of high explosive by secreting small time bombs in the loaded cars. The ill-equipped Russian Army had suffered a costly defeat at the hands of a few careful and determined men.

In Rjukan, Norway, the cheapest hydroelectric power in the world encourages the production of hydrogen by electrolysis of water, and the residue from the electrolytic cells of the great Rjukan plant is incidentally enriched in deuterium. Further treatment of these residues yields pure heavy water, which can be useful in the production of plutonium. When the Nazis undertook such further treatment of the residues, the British—properly apprehensive of the atomic bomb in Axis hands—took counsel with the Nor-

wegian underground. His Majesty's Government armed and encouraged the saboteurs in their spectacular attacks on the heavy-water plant. Its structure and purpose were so special, and the necessities of its location so restrictive, that the crippling of this one plant would seriously reduce the German facilities for manufacturing heavy water, hence, plutonium and bombs.

These two examples exhibit the major principle of all important wartime sabotage. The saboteur cannot have mighty engines or tons of explosive at his disposal; he moves by stealth and carries his destructive means in his pockets or on his back. In the days before the atomic bomb this left him two choices. He could destroy a small but important target with the explosives he carried himself, or he could touch off with this tiny charge the energy stored in the munitions of his enemy. Rjukan or Black Tom—the indispensable small thing or the great concentration of unstable explosive. Both were vulnerable to the old-style saboteur.

Because of this, both were surrounded with safeguards. The small thing, being small, can be specially and heavily guarded. The sentry walks the bridge; the president is accompanied by his guards; the cars entering Oak Ridge are

* Associate director of the Westinghouse Research Laboratory from 1933 to 1945; now head of the National Bureau of Standards, as well as adviser to the Senate Atomic Committee. From *One World or None*, edited by Dexter Masters and Katharine Way. Published by Whittlesey House, a division of the McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

searched. The load of explosives can be guarded too, and the munitions plant or dump is isolated both from the abodes of men and from other concentrations of explosively unstable chemicals. When a shipload or a trainload of explosives comes to a port, it goes by circuitous routes to a lonely spot where its explosion will do little harm. The disaster of Port Chicago, where a shipload of naval explosives detonated for reasons unknown, typifies the unexpected explosion. Men working there died by the hundreds, but the site was so remote that there was not a single civilian casualty.

In the age of atomic explosives the special agent has not been freed from the traditional restriction of his profession—his physical means must still be small. But no longer does this connote small destruction. No longer must significant damage be done by painfully gaining close access to a vulnerable target. No more must he study the habits of the pacing guard and slip past to put the few pounds of TNT and primacord against the generator. No longer need Guy Fawkes put the gunpowder directly under Parliament. The atomic bomb of modest size that the agent assembles in his hideaway will, when it goes off, take with it every structure within a mile. Within the volume of a small watermelon is stored the energy of more than 20,000 tons of old-fashioned high explosive. The saboteur can

carry on his person more destruction than the Eighth Air Force could bring to Germany by ten raids at maximum effort—ten raids in which 200 heavy bombers and 2,000 airplanes would be lost.

We must, therefore, no longer expect the special agent to be special. In a future war and perhaps even in the months of tense suspicion that may precede it, the activities of the saboteur will be important. Against him the locked door and the armed guard no longer can prevail. A target, to be safe, must be surrounded by a sanitary area of at least a mile in radius, all known to contain no suspicious man or thing. Any house can be as dangerous to its surroundings as the greatest of powder magazines. Twenty thousand tons of TNT can be kept under the counter of a candy store.

This does not overstate the case. To be sure, the little lump of atomic explosive must be put together with other mechanisms to make an atomic bomb. Some chemical explosive must be used, with a massive surrounding bubble called a "tamper." Our Government is chary of the details, but we know that the resulting bomb will fit the bomb bay of a B-29, and we can be sure that the structure can be made for a total weight not far from a ton. It can be packaged in the shape and appearance of a filing cabinet or an upright piano.

Can it be detected at a distance by its radiations? Robert Oppen-

heimer, asked in Senate hearings whether there were not some scientific instrument that would enable the detection of the exact box in a Washington basement that might contain an atomic bomb, answered: "Yes, there is such an instrument. It is a screwdriver, with which the investigator could painstakingly open case after case until he found the bomb." Oppenheimer was not joking. Small amounts of radiation are emitted by uranium-235 and plutonium, but the heavy metallic tamper used to make the bomb efficient serves well to absorb this already weak radiation. Neutrons emitted by the atomic explosive are especially penetrating, but the bomb is so constructed that before detonation there are few neutrons present, and the entire design is devoted to preventing their escape. Encasing the bomb in a wooden box would screen it from inspection no more remote than the next room.

We must accept the fact that in any room where a file case can be stored, in any district of a great city, near any key building or installation, a determined effort can secrete a bomb capable of killing a hundred thousand people and laying waste every ordinary structure within a mile. And we cannot detect this bomb except by stumbling over it, by touching it in the course of our detailed inspection of everything within a box or case or enclosure the size of a large radio cabinet, every-

where in every room of every house, every office building, and every factory of every city, and every town of our country.

Conceive the police state that must result from this hard fact in a world from which war has not yet been banished! General Groves, in his testimony before the Senate committee on atomic energy, was asked about the feasibility of international inspection and control. The general was upset at the invasion of corporate and individual privacy that would be involved in making sure that no one was manufacturing atomic explosives, in certifying that the great plants of Oak Ridge and Hanford did not have their illegal counterparts in a country determined to violate the peace. Apparently he did not consider the alternative. Apparently he had not thought of the necessity that, in the absence of adequate international inspection and control, would drive an agent of the FBI to inspect every maiden's hope chest, every matron's china closet, every businessman's file case, every factory's tool cabinet, everywhere in the United States at least once in sixty days. Here is an invasion of privacy to worry about!

Yet such Herculean measures of internal inspection would not be enough. A bomb can be brought in from outside the country in either of two ways. The atomic explosive, which now can be made only in a large, expensive, and easily identi-

fied installation, could be smuggled in little by little by agents, and the rest of the bomb could be built here with the resources of a reasonably modest shop. After all, atomic explosives are respectable-looking metals out of which plated cigar lighters, keys, watch cases, or shoe nails can be fabricated. They cannot be told from other metals except by a detailed study of their density and their X-ray absorption. Here the police state will be needed again. In the insecurity of a world of national atomic armaments, every bit of metal carried by every incoming foreign traveler will have to be inspected in a laborious and sophisticated way.

But we are not yet safe. The other way of bringing in an atomic bomb from abroad is to secrete a complete atomic bomb within some ostensibly innocent item of cargo consigned to the United States. In the hold of a ship floating idly at the Brooklyn docks, awaiting the X-ray inspection of cargo that a fearful nation has imposed, such a bomb could kill its hundred thousand and wreck the harbor. Carried in a plane making its final approach to the landing strip of a great trans-oceanic air base, it could destroy the base, the travelers, and a few square miles of the neighborhood. The speed and convenience of air travel is nullified by the hard necessity of slow and careful examination of any box big enough to provide for the

overseas shipment of a typewriter. A single box of this sort could contain an instrument of enough power to wreck the Panama Canal.

The improved effectiveness of sabotage in the atomic age, the newly increased concentration of destructive energy, make possible anonymous war. The identity of a bomb-maker and the names of the men who have planted the bomb will vanish in microseconds in an awesome ball of atomic fire. This opens the horrid possibility of deliberate provocation. In a suspicious world of full-scale atomic armaments, a third nation might, by the planting of bombs, precipitate a war between two others which momentarily fear one another. The treachery that is patriotism in a war is here brought to its utmost depths; yet there is nothing visionary in this thought. It is a grim outcome of what we can do.

It is not likely that a war will be decided by the destruction wrought by atomic bombs secreted in the ways considered here; it is not our purpose to imply that a war can be won by sabotage or betrayal. It need not be; the rockets are too good for that. And the organization of a sabotage network, capable of planting more than a handful of such hidden weapons under the risk of precipitating hostilities if a single plan miscarries, is surely grave. But here is one more uncertainty. If your

(Continued on page 26)

Universal Training

A Symposium

Democracy at the Crossroads

The whole crux of the compulsory peacetime military training issue is to be found in what the inauguration of such a program will inevitably mean for our democratic institutions and for the moral and spiritual life of our sons.

First, let it be clearly recognized that a system apologetically introduced as a wartime and therefore necessary abrogation of democratic liberties is now being advocated as a permanent peacetime institution. Be not deceived by garbled phrasing and "weasel words." It is a shocking thing to hear honest and honorable men such as President Truman and General Marshall earnestly and sincerely advocating peacetime military training on the grounds that it is "the most democratic method available." This one statement reveals how tragically altered is the concept of democracy in the best of our present leadership. Presumably the method of compulsion is democratic because we shall all have to do the same thing. But the essence of democracy is not and never has been making everyone act and think and speak alike. That is the characteristic of the slave market, the feudal system, the totalitarian state. The essence of democracy is liberty. To take liberty away from all young men alike not only does not constitute democracy; it simply means that while we have won a war against the armies of the totalitarian state, we have ourselves been conquered by its controlling principle.

If we must have compulsory peacetime military training, let us honestly discuss it in its true character as the denial of the freedom of the individual in behalf of the state, a device hitherto reluctantly practiced in time of war but now to become the law of the land in time of peace and thus to constitute a deliberate and distinct step backward and downward into the pit from which, through the centuries, mankind has been struggling upward toward the stars of freedom and the air of liberty.

Let us frankly admit that the democratic processes we have avowedly hoped to extend across the world we now renounce because they are no longer adequate to maintain our own selfish advantage in that world. Let us clearly discern a future in which 750,000 boys a year will come under the influence of the military mind; will be trained not only to fight but to think in terms of force as the ultimate defense in a defenseless age; will be sent back to civilian life just as they attain their majority with a mental color-

ation that cannot help determining as reactionary the men for whom they vote and as negative the foreign policies they choose to support, even as it has happened in every nation with compulsory military training since the dawn of history. This nation will not remain the same free land we have known and loved under such conditions.

It is alleged that compulsory peacetime military training with its program of "early to bed and early to rise" will make our boys "healthy, happy, and wise." This physical health argument is so much "come-hither" window dressing. The Army can, does, and will fill teeth, correct bad posture, harden flabby muscles, and remove inflamed appendixes. But the Army does not and will not correct the deeply rooted environmental deficiencies that produce organically unsound bodies and minds. The proposed superficial health program could easily become a dangerous palliative lulling us to sleep in the presence of an admitted national health problem of major proportions.

President Truman, in an endeavor to make the program more palatable, disguises the military training emphasis (to the covert dismay of the Army) and insists that the Federal Government, through the armed services, must indoctrinate our boys with the high ideals of democracy and decent living they may have failed to receive in home, Church, and school. If the nation is "soft" physically and spiritually as were Greece and Rome in their respective eras of decline, what ground have we to expect that any department of the Federal Government is equipped ideologically to perform this greatly needed task? It should be pointed out that one of the concomitants of the decline and fall of past civilizations has always been the attempt to arrogate to the state the cultural and spiritual training of youth. Whatever time, thought, money, and leadership are to be applied to a program of peacetime military conscription could better be brought to bear within a plan for strengthening those time-honored agencies and institutions that have been and must continue to be the glory of a free people—the home, the Church, and the school. To take our youth at the most impressionable age, divorce them from normal home and school and Church environment, introduce them to a type of discipline that destroys the initiative and individuality so important in a democracy, preparing them for a method of defense that will be outmoded before they are thirty, is a solution, in an admittedly desperate situation, quite unworthy of a free, a thinking, and a self-styled Christian people.

—Ganse Little,
Chairman, S.E.A. Counseling Committee;
Minister, Broad Street Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio.

An Educator Views the Program

It is difficult for an educator to write temperately about peacetime universal military training or peacetime conscription—the terms are synonymous. The idea is so foreign to the American and Christian concept of freedom and world brotherhood that one is frankly surprised by the persistence with which the case is presented.

It is understandable that the Army should seek to impose conscription on American youth. The Army, like all institutions, seeks to enlarge its own power and prestige, but it should have learned by this time that attempts to fasten conscription on boys of eighteen does not enhance its prestige.

What puzzles an observer is that in a proposal so repugnant to American traditions and habits the Army persists in this agitation. It would not continue to do so unless its leaders were encouraged by other American leaders. The real job is to find out who these unseen, pretended leaders of American thought may be. Who are these people who do not believe in freedom and world brotherhood, or who at least are willing to sacrifice these values for a fancied military security?

We can point to four groups who are definitely not of this description. American labor has an unblemished record against peacetime military conscription. Likewise, the great farm organizations, divided on many subjects, unite to oppose conscription. The official conventions and spokesmen of all religious bodies unfailingly speak against conscription. As for the educators, in spite of the pressure that the Army and its unseen supporters know how to exert, they have stood firm against turning over the youth of America for two years or one—and now it is proposed for six months—for basic military training in military camps.

At the Boston meeting of the Association of American Colleges, January 13-15, 1947, it was announced that a poll of the member colleges on the statement "The United States Should Adopt a Program of Universal Military Training in Peacetime" resulted as follows: "For universal military training, 71; against, 284; doubtful, 103; no report, 150." It was also reported that if the colleges in the South and the Northeast (Pennsylvania and east thereof) were to be excluded from the count the result in the rest of the nation would be eight to one against conscription. Analyzed, the result would read as follows: for universal military training, 16; against, 139; doubtful, 29. Several denominational groups of colleges, including the Presbyterian College Union, voiced continued opposition to peacetime universal military training, especially in view of the rather promising efforts to keep the peace through the United Nations.

One of the most effective statements against conscription was the address of Dr. Ralph McDonald, speaking for the National Education Association, at a Congressional hearing in Washington in 1946. He gave four reasons which are unassailable:

"First, such a system will not adequately prepare the nation for war if there should be another war. It would freeze military methods and techniques in old, out-dated patterns of warfare. It would draw off boys to Army camps at a time when they most need to be in educational institutions training themselves in scientific and mechanical skills which would be so vitally needed if there were to be a next war. It would thus create a false sense of security with the military leaders relying on huge numbers of men who will have had basic military training and little else besides. This is not a sound method of preparedness for modern war.

"Secondly, compulsory military training would do tremendous injury to our boys. The eighteen-year-old boy is at a critical and impressionable age. He needs the most stabilizing, wholesome, constructive environment possible. In a peacetime military camp, he would have none of these influences.

"Thirdly, compulsory military training would weaken our democracy from within and would start us on the road to militarism. The central pillar around which Germany, Italy, and Japan built their military power was this system of compulsory military training that we now are asked to adopt. The American people did not fight and win this war in order to achieve, as its most direct consequence touching the family and social life of American youth, the essence of that compulsory military system that marked the dictator states.

"Fourthly, the adoption by our Congress of peacetime military conscription as a unilateral act, unrelated to the preservation of world peace, would be properly construed by the nations of the world as a vote of no confidence in the United Nations, and the initiation of a race for armed power supremacy between the United States and Russia, the end of which can only be the death of organized life upon this planet."

Besides the effect that the adoption of conscription would have on America's international relations, there is a more basic reason for rejecting this policy. It is the effect that conscription would have on America itself. This country is dedicated to freedom. It is true that as the nation grows older and richer there are more voices heard in praise of the limitations that are placed around freedom and fewer voices that praise its virtues. Nations, like many individuals, grow timid as they grow old. However, thus far in our history no election has ever been won in America by those who openly fought against freedom. By this standard we can expect the

present drive for conscription to fail, for of all possible arrangements for handling youth in their formative years, the one that is least consistent with freedom is military conscription.

As an educator, I oppose conscription as a method of organizing the youth of the nation for national defense or for any other purpose on three grounds.

First, conscription will do something evil to the morals of young men and their sense of moral values. It takes boys away from their homes, Churches, friends, and local communities where they are known. It plunges them into a make-believe, man-made world of war, under a military system that has never manifested the slightest interest in the moral purity of its officers or men. I refer specifically to the social evils of prostitution, gambling, and excessive use of intoxicants that characterize all peacetime aggregation of men-soldiers—and some wartime experiences also.

Secondly, conscription predisposes those youngsters whom it impresses with its authority, or its ribbons, or its ease, to accept the belief that war and force are the only means of settling disputes among nations. Consequently it makes them cynical in regard to the hopes and plans of peacemakers. On their return to civilian life, these young men are likely to accept the political leadership of those who think in terms of international brigandage, and plan for American imperialism on a grand scale. How far these habits of mind that accept international violence carry over to acts of personal and domestic violence may be judged to some extent by the crime waves that follow every major war.

Thirdly, conscription adversely affects the skill of young men in managing their own lives and in exercising their freedom. It imposes arbitrary restraints over a large part of their working time, discouraging the exercise of originality, initiative, and responsibility during that time, and then releases all restraints over free time. This is the worst possible educational method known to men, but it is the method that millions of young men have become familiar with in the Army.

Freedom is the atmosphere American boys have breathed through all the generations, save in those supreme hours of sacrifice when they gave up that freedom to defend the nation at war. What possible justification can we have, with the world exhausted by war, for taking this freedom from the next generation for American youth? What possible justification, when by so doing we destroy international hopes and plans for peace and invite the next war?

—Charles J. Turck,
President, Macalester College, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

The Home Speaks

"Preparedness against atomic war is futile, and, if attempted, will ruin the structure of our social order."

These words were included in a recent statement prepared by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. Coupled with a statement by Dr. Albert Einstein that "never before was it possible for one nation to make war on another without sending armies across borders. . . . Our defense is not in armaments nor in science, nor in going underground; our defense is in law and order," these words contrast so sharply with the campaign being waged vigorously by the War Department, with the support of the President, for peacetime military training, or conscription, that they bring into clear focus the problem with which serious-minded parents have been wrestling ever since the active program to force the passage of a conscription bill through Congress was begun. Whom shall we believe, or whose leadership shall we follow?

The 79th Congress did not pass such a measure, perhaps because of the articulate opposition both of groups and of individuals. With the opening of the 80th Congress the issue is again raised and requires our wisest and most thoughtful consideration.

Every citizen worthy of the name should ask himself or herself a number of significant questions. Everyone knows that this nation must accept much responsibility for maintaining world peace in co-operation with other nations and that this will require trained men and adequate modern armament. Also, everyone knows that the nation—as the smallest community within the group of nations—must make provision to defend itself against lawbreakers and troublemakers. We ask how we can meet these needs while joining wholeheartedly in every international disarmament effort. Will a short period of military training for a million youths a year be any sort of answer? Certainly eighteen-year-olds must not be used for occupation purposes.

Thoughtful parents know that their greatest task in life is to bear, rear, and educate the children who will, in their turn, carry on our national life; they also know that there is the accompanying responsibility of preserving all that is good in our heritage, of enriching it and strengthening it where necessary so that the next generation will have opportunity to create a better world. At the moment, that question involves so elementary a thing as survival in any sort of world. So again we ask ourselves questions and seek for answers:

Wherein lies our national strength—our greatest strength?

How can we plan our national life to preserve its highest idealism?

What shall we teach our children so that they will be devoted to our ideals and be ready to defend them in every way and from every sort of enemy, both within and without?

Who shall be entrusted with the high and sacred trust of teaching our children?

We have been told repeatedly that no nation can be any stronger than the citizens composing that nation. We know that the task of creating good citizens first of all belongs where it has always belonged—to the home; then to the school; to the Church that gives the moral foundations for our way of life; and, finally, to the community, which should demonstrate to youth that different sorts of people can live together in harmony and with justice for all.

We must be strong at home, with unity of purpose and willingness to spend a part of our national income in raising standards where they are low; we must be ready to use our strength in the international sphere in order to help to make a reality of the great purposes found in the Preamble to the United Nations Charter. If we do these things, we help to eradicate the causes of war and the need for burdensome military preparations. But can we do these things while we spend nearly two thirds of our national budget, directly and indirectly, for past and future wars? Anyone who has worked for national legislation that would require appropriation of some millions of dollars to be used to help to raise the standards of education, health, housing, and other creative measures, knows the almost insurmountable difficulties met with, the many arguments used against Government "control" or "interference" in state or local problems, and the billions that are budgeted for military purposes not only in wartime but in times of peace with little question.

One of the arguments used repeatedly by those supporting conscription is that it will be a panacea for many of our national ills. We are told that we have failed to give a large percentage of our youth even the rudiments of an education, that we have failed to raise a generation of healthy youth, that too many of our boys and girls become criminals, with the rate constantly going upward, and that our young people know little of their country's history or sense the duties of citizenship. Therefore, to cure these and other social ills we are told that each year we should give one million eighteen-year-old boys a few months or a year of training in military camps throughout the country.

What an easy way out of difficult problems if it were true!

We are all aware that there is room for improvement in what has been done by home, Church, school, and community; we also know that the young folks who fought and won the war and responded to every call at home were the products of these same homes, schools, Churches, and communities.

We know too that to rear the sort of citizens needed in the world today by this and every other country demands years of devotion to the task; it must begin before birth with the right sort of parents and be carried on in an environment where it is possible to train boys and girls for wise citizenship. This training must be carried on day by day and year by year with skill and untiring effort. For better or for worse, most of the job must be done during the first eighteen years of each child's life.

If all these results could have been obtained in a short period of training, under the military, there would have been few rejections; the difficulties would have been remedied while the young men were in training, for the Army had every imaginable resource with which to do its work.

Let us not confuse the issues; social problems are one thing and call for one sort of solution; military training is something very different. Let us be articulate and speak clearly so that our representatives in Congress may think clearly. Of course there would be some good by-products from such training as is proposed, but much greater results could be obtained, with less expenditure, through other agencies. Military training, if it is to be real training, is a very long and complicated process today, demanding many types of knowledge and many skills. A short period is designed primarily for indoctrination of a certain type of thinking; some of our military leaders are frank enough to admit this. Do we want it to happen?

What we do want and need are citizens of the highest type that our nation can produce. We need citizens healthy in body, mind, and spirit. We need self-disciplined citizens who believe in the practice and precepts of democracy, who are educated to think for themselves as well as trained for specific skills and professions, who have initiative, who can adapt themselves to changing circumstances, who are able to direct their minds into new channels of thought, who are both idealistic and realistic in their attitudes, who have deep spiritual foundations within themselves upon which their lives are built.

Lincoln told the people of his day that they "could not escape the verdict of history"; neither can we. Let us be thoughtful and articulate for the greatest good of those so near and dear to us—our children and our children's children.

—*Minetta A. Hastings,*
Member, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

Let Us Reckon the Cost

A full year of active duty as an Army chaplain after hostilities had ceased in August, 1945, has confirmed my theory that peacetime conscription should be banned on moral and spiritual grounds. Much of that time was spent in an isolated area outside the continental limits of the United States. None of the demoralizing influences encountered could be blamed on a civilian or foreign population. We saw only military personnel and civilians employed by the Army, living on Army bases, and completely under Army control. Two years of duty with a command engaged in the training of carefully selected officer candidates and employing the services of an unusually large proportion of professional men in both officer and enlisted ranks did nothing to alter my conviction that because the military system is amoral, the military training of youth can have no good effect whatever, unless the production of efficient soldiers is to be considered as a good end in itself.

There are obvious reasons why military training cannot be productive of good character or good citizenship, in spite of the well publicized intention of the present administration to use "universal training" to those ends. The most obvious of these reasons is that the purpose of military training is military training. Indoctrination of chaplains in military discipline indicates that the system demands not original or constructive thought but uncritical acceptance of every policy of the War Department and unquestioning obedience of every order from a higher echelon of command. American soldiers are encouraged to use initiative and to improvise in the upkeep or use of equipment which will increase military efficiency. They are famed for their ability to overcome tactical and mechanical difficulties. They are *not* encouraged to discuss policy or politics. While chaplains have had complete freedom of expression in the pulpit and in study or discussion groups in the chapel, some have found rigid limitations to their freedom to attempt to correct or even mitigate such social evils as racial discrimination in the United States. Military personnel may not petition the legislative branch of Government on matters in any way connected with military policy.

Such a system is not designed to produce intelligent citizens for life in a democracy. It is a system far better suited to the needs of a totalitarian government.

The majority of veterans of the last two wars will not have recognized these elements of danger to good citizenship. They are, however, the logical development of the system and they will become more apparent as generation after generation of young men is subjected to military discipline. Nor

will changes in the social distinction between the ranks or better programs of orientation cure the fundamental evil of this sort of discipline. Good citizenship demands intelligent self-discipline. Psychologists, educators, and pastors know, as do most parents, that this is not the product of a rigid, externally imposed discipline. But it would be unreasonable to ask the Army to adopt any other method. This one best serves the military purpose. It is folly to expect the Army to serve two purposes when schools, Churches, community forums, and other agencies are specifically designed to foster good citizenship.

A second reason that the military machine must remain amoral rather than productive of morality lies in its standard of efficiency and is illustrated clearly by the effort to control venereal disease. The Army has jurisdiction over only military personnel and cannot enforce its program on the civilian community. It can lecture military personnel on the dangers of association with prostitutes, but it cannot wipe out prostitution or prohibit noncommercial illicit intercourse. The Army's primary concern is to keep the largest number of men on active duty. That can be accomplished far more effectively by providing mechanical and chemical prophylaxis as a preventive measure and the best medical methods of cure for those infected than by the far slower and less certain method of moral training.

And if the nation as a whole has not provided effective moral training of the civilian population, why should the Army be expected to do so for its personnel?

From the viewpoint of military efficiency, a more logical method of controlling venereal disease would be the immunization of all personnel, as is now done to prevent the incidence of yellow fever, typhus, and other diseases. It is reasonable to expect the Army to adopt this method provided a successful agent of immunization is developed.

The use of this illustration is not to be taken as a criticism of the effort made by the Army toward the control of venereal disease. It is an argument against expecting the Army to do what the home, the Church, and the school have failed to do, and a reminder that moral training is not and cannot be the primary business of the War Department. Excessive drinking and gambling are equally deleterious to military efficiency. Every commanding officer recognizes that fact, but the Army is not equipped to cope effectively with these problems.

A third reason that peacetime conscription will have bad moral and, ultimately, spiritual effect lies in the nature of military life. It is not a normal life. Man is a social being and men are gregarious, but not to the extent of fitting naturally and happily into barracks. An open bay housing from

forty to sixty men of all cultural and moral backgrounds does not foster the best interest of any individual. Neither does life in the series of cubicles called "Bachelor Officer Quarters." Nor is military life a full one demanding all the energies and capacities of normal youth, except, of course, during the relatively short periods of actual combat, which will be missing from peacetime training. Military life is even more governed by monotonous routine than is civilian life, and much of that routine, even to old soldiers, is devoid of vital meaning. For young men compelled to live it for a year, it will not have even the aspect of being a way in which to earn a living. Some satisfaction could be derived from military training during a war, even when the result was assignment to an office in the United States. Few young men will be able to recognize any significance for themselves or society in that routine while the nation is at peace.

These factors produce a state of dissatisfaction and boredom which demands a means of escape. Our national economy includes the possibility of making money from that need. It will be impossible for the Army to prevent the exploitation of these restless men. If they are isolated from commercialized vice, there will be both old soldiers and young conscripts who will provide the wrong sort of outlet for their energy.

It may seem strange that a former chaplain does not express more faith in the results of the efforts that will be made by his fellow clergymen to offset some of the dangers noted above. Let our thinking in that connection be honest and realistic. How many young men in any community are in close touch with pastors? Just about the same proportion will be reached by the chaplains. Skillful and aggressive chaplains will succeed in serving a number of men who never went to Church at home, but the system provides only one chaplain for every twelve hundred men, regardless of denomination (Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish), and even the best chaplain of a closely integrated unit will not be able to appeal to all his men. The civilian clergy are assisted in large measure by parents, wives, and sweethearts. There are none of these in the Army. The Church at home has associations that are completely lacking in the best-equipped Army chapel. And the chaplain wears the uniform and insignia of an officer!

I end as I began. I am unalterably opposed to peacetime conscription because the effects of military training are, on the whole, the opposite of what we as Christians desire for youth. If we still want young men trained as efficient soldiers, let us recognize the cost and not pretend that the Army can be equated with a summer camp run by the Y.M.C.A.

—Martyn D. Keeler,
Former U.S. Army Chaplain.

Draft Act Dies

The announcement of January 30 that the Army plans to ask for no extension of the Draft Act beyond March 31 does not mean that threat of universal training has been allayed. It is possible that this action of the Army in allowing the Draft Act to die will strategically serve those advocates of military training who still press for some form of compulsory military training. This continued agitation will deepen the uneasiness of the world and will fasten the burden of competitive armaments on all nations. It promises to fill the world's cup of misery and fear until it overflows in the final awfulness of atomic war. The varieties of peacetime training proposed have at least one factor in common—none of them faces the realities of the atomic age and provides an adequate defense.

Propaganda Marches On

We do not believe peacetime training offers us even a reasonable hope of security. The nation is now, and will be for an indeterminate period, subjected to a flood of propaganda in support of some kind of peacetime training and military service for our young men. We believe in the sincerity of the leaders and agencies supporting such programs. We also believe they are confused and confusing. The volume of their propaganda can be measured by checking the newspapers for the news items and editorials steadily appearing for the training program. *The New York Times*, in its issue of January 27, printed four major items within the first five pages supporting military training. The first news item consisted of two columns on page one by Secretary Patterson headed "Universal Training a Must."

Included in this mass of publicity was a statement by Senator Austin declaring that he was emphatic in his opposition to "unilateral disarmament," and that the Senate would never consent to disarmament until a full degree of security against the use of atomic weapons by all countries had been attained. Another item, by Admiral Blandy, asserted that world disarmament, as demanded by "well-meaning but impractical pacifists, is not desirable at this time," and "it never will be until one can no longer find such words as hatred, greed, envy, and suspicion in the dictionary." General Doolittle's statement read, "Sometime in the future when we have push-button warfare we can junk the existing establishments, but not before."

Such statements indicate the contribution to confusion that can be made by some of our leaders. The choice before us is not between "unilateral"

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disarmament and a great reservoir of peacetime trained men. We disagree with General Doolittle. We *cannot* wait until the push-button war is upon us before we change our ways of thinking and planning for defense. When the push-button war is upon us, it will be too late. Admiral Blandy's warning that unprepared nations are in peril implies that militarily prepared nations are not in peril. To maintain that we cannot move toward multilateral disarmament until "greed," "envy," and "suspicion" are no longer in the dictionary is to refuse to move toward the reduction of armaments, one of the underlying causes of all these evils, until the results have disappeared.

There is another confusion that some statements contribute to by equating "disarmament" and the rejection of compulsory training. General Marshall, now Secretary of State, has said, to quote *The New York Times*, "Universal military training is necessary to support the United States' foreign policy with positive military power." Without compulsory training we have an army of 1,200,000, the most powerful navy on the seas, and a stock pile of atomic bombs. We should not overlook such factors of "positive military power," as it is unlikely the rest of the world will.

What Is Realism?

Some of our military and political leaders have blessed us by calling us idealists only to damn us in the next breath with the charge of being unrealistic. Let us then see what realism means and how realistic our military leaders have been in urging that we put our trust in some form of compulsory training. Our nuclear physicists have suggested the measures to be taken by those determined to seek defense in armaments—measures these scientists reject as futile.

First, we conclude from the reports of these scientists that the "realists" should immediately disperse all our industries. The concentration of them in great cities, at ship and rail heads, must be broken up, and, since time is running out, it should be done at once. The resulting dislocation of life, the cost in treasure and tears, is not to be considered when survival is at stake. The United States must not be in a position where an initial, devastating attack could destroy her very heart. The nation should move immediately to an increasingly rigid control of the citizens, providing for armies of men who would serve as investigators of everything that could screen the activities of an enemy agent or afford him the place to hide his bombs for later release by remote control. Democracy contemplates a Gestapo!

The next step would be at once to seek out our potential enemy and at-

tack before we are attacked. We should use the bomb that we, alone, have the advantage of possessing, and, having destroyed the nations that carry any threat to us, we should be prepared to police those nations. This would result in the establishment of such a police state, exercising such tyranny, as this world has never seen—a state shorn of freedom and honor.

In this age that has seen the elemental power of the atom released in destruction, to demand compulsory peacetime military training in the name of national defense appears about as realistic as to build a fleet of triremes for a defense against a modern battle wagon—or to mobilize the “bowmen in Lincoln green” as a defense against a *Panzer* division. It is the conviction of the futility of attempting defense by armaments that makes our scientists declare with impressive unanimity, “There is no defense!”

Hope for Security

Dr. William Ernest Hocking's conclusion is our own: “Hope for security in the atomic age can no longer exist except in the good will of peoples.” Let us then be about the business of good will. This nation, which is the richest in the world and the mightiest the earth has ever known, will seriously undertake to serve the world's needs. It will not again repeat the scandal of squandering seven and a half billion dollars on liquor in the same year that three fourths of the world were living in the shadow of starvation. “That amount of money would feed the hungry of Europe and place every Church in the United States out of debt, endow every college and university.” We will support and expand the principles of the reciprocal trade treaties. We will understand and support the splendid program of UNESCO. We will care for the displaced persons. On the national scene, we will, among many things, see to it that our G.I.'s have homes! We will not permit selfish interests to exploit the homeless under the mantle of free enterprise, nor will we justify every form of self-indulgence in the name of personal liberty. We will restore confidence at home and abroad by devoting ourselves to the ways of compassion in the service of mercy.

Question- naire

We wish to express, here, our sincere appreciation for the very thoughtful and considered returns which we have received in response to the questionnaire recently sent to our chaplains asking their opinions regarding the effect of military training on the character, health, and behavior of our young men. Since these returns did not arrive in time to receive the careful study which they warranted, we plan to publish a report in a later issue of the magazine.

—Paul Newton Poling.

Group Relations in American Democracy

By R. M. MacIver *

THE unity of the nation, the strength and well-being of the community, are being threatened by the maladjustments and the frustrations that arise in the relations of group to group, by the prejudices and suspicions and the hostilities and the fears and the discriminations that arise between group and group. It has become, I believe, perhaps the major problem of our particular society at this particular time.

The issue is not the difference between groups, but the way in which we react to these differences. The issue is not the conflict between groups. Everywhere men and groups are engaged in some kind of struggle which, while it has its harmful effects, also has its beneficial effects. But we are concerned here with something different, with something more sinister. We are concerned with the disabilities, whether for co-operation or for competition, that exist between group and group, with the exclusions, with the denials, the rejections that keep groups apart, that shut groups up so that they do not share in the common fresh air of the world in which we

live, with exclusions and denials that threaten their personalities, that obviously interfere with their life chances everywhere, that invade their integrity, that poison the springs of life and of faith.

The Issue

In a peculiar sense, this issue of group relations is a problem of our own country. In this country we have reached the ground for a higher stage of civilization with respect to groups and their relations, because in this country we no longer identify the people or the state with any ethnic group, with any faith, with any section, and therefore for us in this country it is not a problem of political domination as it may be in the first instance in many parts of Europe.

With us the trouble is not mainly one of political relations. It is not one, in the first instance, of the guarantee of civil liberties by constitutional law. It is a question of our social relations, it is a question of our social attitudes, and the reason our codes and our Constitution in this respect are not too effective is that there is a discrepancy, a disharmony between the legal, the political side, which we have won, and the social side which we have certainly not yet won.

* Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology, Columbia University. Condensed from *Civilization and Group Relationships*, lectures published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City. Used with permission.

So the main issue is that of a better ordering of group relations. The question is for us one of our response to other groups, of our attitudes toward other men, and that should be the controlling fact in any program we offer, in any steps we take toward betterment. The controlling fact is the need for social education, for social re-education. What can we do about it? If I am right in saying that the essential trouble lies in social attitudes, then there is no short or easy road to our goal.

The Goal

The trouble does not lie with any particular group. The trouble lies *between* groups. It is the question of the relations between them, and therefore, to remedy it, we cannot seek a specific for a particular group alone. We probably should not concentrate too exclusively on any one group when it comes to the matter of saying what should be done to improve things.

We cannot get ahead far by pressing the particular claims or the particular rights of any one group, because so long as we are doing that, first, we are not touching this matter of social attitudes, and, secondly, are still putting the accent on difference, and that is where a large part of the trouble lies. I do not mean to suggest that we should not take steps to expose the discriminations that particular groups suffer from. I do not mean to suggest that we should

not be active in showing up the evils of discrimination in particular instances and its effects on particular groups. What I mean is that, having done so, we must proceed to apply a larger principle that is relevant to all groups. What we do for one, we are doing for all, we are doing for ourselves. *The accent must not be on difference, because that is already our trouble.*

The ailment does not depend on the existence of any particular group, no matter how manifest the trouble may be with respect to it. The evil is a universal one. Sometimes the discrimination is against, say, the radical; sometimes it is against the liberal. Sometimes it is against the Roman Catholic; sometimes the Jew, sometimes the Protestant. It depends on the conditions where the evil strikes. But its root is the same always, without reference to the particular people who may be the particular victims at any one time.

Therefore I do not believe we are going to get very far in solving this problem merely by strong advocacy of the claims of any one group. That is all very well, but it is not the solution of this problem.

It is like this: You have an hour on the radio, let us say, or a column in the paper. How does it look to the outsider? The rest of the time the radio is American, and this hour is Czech. That is what it looks like.

(Continued on page 28)

WORLD ORDER

Twelve Points on Atomic Energy

Atomic Energy Has Opened a New Era for Mankind

Like fire, steam, and electricity, it will transform our way of life.
It can bring us unimagined progress and freedom.
But it can also destroy our kind of civilization.
The same materials can be used for peaceful purposes or bombs.

Atomic Energy Must Be Man's Servant, Not His Master

Regions lacking coal can flourish through atomic power.
Radioactive elements can bring science new knowledge.
Atomic radiations can cure disease instead of killing men.

The Atomic Bomb Is the Most Devastating Weapon Ever Created

One bomb can cause the destruction of 167 blockbusters,
can kill 100,000 people,
while thousands more die from its radiations.

Improved Bombs Will Be Even More Deadly

One day of atomic war could destroy our big cities
and kill 40,000,000 people.

There Is No Military Defense Against the Bomb

There is no 100 per cent defense against any bomb.
There is no effective defense against rocket bombs.
No 100 per cent defense looks possible against atomic sabotage.

The United States Is Highly Vulnerable to Atomic Warfare

People and industry are crowded in a few great cities.
We could not disperse our cities soon enough
or move our homes and industries underground.

We Can Have No Lasting Monopoly of Atomic Secrets

The basic facts of atomic energy are now known to the world.
Our present monopoly of engineering know-how is only temporary.

Other Countries Can Produce Atomic Weapons

Uranium deposits are scattered over the globe.
Atomic bombs are cheap weapons in terms of destructive power.
Small nations as well as the big powers can make bombs.

Other Nations May Have Bomb Stock Piles in Perhaps Five Years

These stock piles would breed the greatest fear man has ever known.
No one would feel safe.
An atomic armament race in a fear-ridden world could set off atomic war.

World Control of Atomic Energy Can End the Menace of Atomic War

The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission is trying to create world control.

The United States Has Proposed a Plan

An international Atomic Development Authority would control
all uranium and thorium,
all atomic production plants,
all atomic activities dangerous to mankind,
and license and inspect all other atomic activities.

Each of Us Has a Personal Stake in World Control of Atomic Energy

We cannot turn the clock back now.
We must choose progress or destruction.

Study Materials on Atomic Energy Control

Study Kit on Atomic Energy. Contains a study and discussion outline, the Acheson Report, and an assortment of pamphlets and reprints on every aspect of atomic energy. *\$1.00 postpaid.*

The Atom Goes to Work for Medicine, by Harry M. Davis, in *The New York Times Magazine*, September 22. *10 cents; bulk orders, 25 for \$1.00.*

Acheson-Lilienthal Report. The famous State Department Report which forms the basis for the Baruch proposals to the United Nations Commission and hence for current discussion of world control of atomic energy. Available in quantity. *Free on request to the NCAL.*

Your Flesh Should Creep, by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, in *The Saturday Evening Post*, July 13. Why our military leaders favor international control. *Free on request.*

Questions and Answers About Atomic Energy. Thirty-two pages. Key questions answered by quotes from the experts. *10 cents each; \$1.00 for 15.*

One World Or None. Basic to any informed discussion of atomic energy. Best seller by the scientists and experts on international affairs. *\$1.00 at bookstores or the NCAL.*

Education for the Atomic Age. Teachers' guide and bibliography. *10 cents.*

How to Live with the Atom. 35 mm. cartoon film with narrator's text and discussion manual. Running time, 20 minutes. Answers basic questions briefly, accurately, and entertainingly. An ideal starting point for lively and constructive group discussion.

World Control of Atomic Energy. 35 mm. cartoon film strip with speech notes and guide. Introduces major problems for discussion. Prices for each film, *\$2.50.* Sixteen-inch transcriptions with narration recorded at 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ r.p.m. *\$5.00 extra.*

Education for Survival in the Atomic Age. Six pages. What organizations and individuals can do to help to build world-wide freedom from fear. Recommended for distribution at forums. *10 cents each; \$1.00 for 20.*

Atomic Information. Monthly news bulletin of the National Committee on Atomic Information. *Free to contributors. Single copy, 15 cents; bulk orders, 25 for \$1.00.*

Order from National Committee on Atomic Information, 1749 L Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., which prepared the Twelve Point outline.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Displaced Persons

SOME 900,000 displaced persons, 80 per cent of whom are Christian, are homeless and without a country wherein they can feel secure today. This is the number of persons that in ordinary times would have been admitted to the United States, during a period equal to the war years, under our regular immigration system.

It therefore seems reasonable to say that the United States should lead other countries and open the way for about 450,000 of this number to enter. In spite of our very serious housing problem the coming of these people here would have little or no effect on it because of special circumstances involved. First, a large number would go with relatives who already are occupying houses, but would not be putting the "extra bed" on the market anyway. Secondly, about 60 per cent of the displaced persons are from an agricultural background and want to settle in rural areas. Housing is not so tight in rural areas as in cities. Moreover, we have a labor shortage in agriculture that this group could help to fill.

About 150,000 of the group are children under 18. The majority are between 16 and 40 years of age. These people are a serious part of the aftermath of war. As long as these homeless people are kept in camps they constitute a serious threat to peace, not as individuals themselves, but as a group example of problems that democracies leave unsolved.

Our Christian responsibility is very clear. To this end the Federal Council of Churches has announced that it will be responsible for the housing of 100,000 of these people if they are brought to our shores. Other faiths have indicated their interest and co-operation in caring for these people in our country.

The financial side of the question bears mention. To continue to care for this group under present conditions will cost

\$160,000,000 per year, 45 per cent of which is assigned to the United States. The majority of these people could be self-supporting if given the opportunity, and this money diverted to other use.

In order to bring 450,000 people to our shores special legislation is needed. A bill could well be passed that would grant admittance to this number of people within a given time limit. It would admit them as displaced persons, not as nationals of a given country. They should be subject to all the tests that now apply to anyone emigrating to our shores. If special legislation is passed, our immigration quotas will not need to be disturbed.

Action Needed. Write the President of the United States, Senator Robert Taft, and Senator Alben Barkley, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C. Tell them of your concern over this group composed largely of Christians, and ask for special legislation to admit them to the United States.

Discuss this whole subject in the various groups of your Church. Put it on your program as a special, if need be.

Ministers will want to refer to and explain this problem in sermons, particularly those relating to brotherhood and world relationships.

Those interested in Missions will see this as a special opportunity for service.

For further information. Obtain *Displaced Persons and U. S. Immigration Policy* from League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. 10 cents.

State F E P C Bill

Fair Employment Practices bills are being considered in state legislatures. Working with the Representative from your district toward the passage of a good one in your state is a practical way of implementing the Presbyterian Pronouncement on Racial and Cultural Relations.

Sanctuary

New Worlds for Old

*"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth:
for the first heaven and the first earth
are passed away; and the sea is no more."*

Call to Worship:

Leader: "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth;"

People: "And the former things shall not be remembered, nor come into mind."

Leader: "But be ye glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create;"

People: "For, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy."

Leader: "And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people;"

People: "And there shall be heard in her no more the voice of weeping and the voice of crying."

Leader: "They shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them."

People: "They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat:"

Leader: "For as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people,"

People: "And my chosen shall long enjoy the work of their hands."

The Invocation:

"Almighty God, our Father, who hast planted eternity in the heart of man and hast ordained that he should not find rest amid the things of time and sense: open to us, we pray thee, the gates of that invisible realm wherein thou dwellest, and grant that as we abide with thee this hour we may feel thy greatness flow round about our incompleteness; round about our restlessness, thy rest. Deliver us from bondage to sin and fear, and enable us, by thy grace, to face life with the calm assurance of those whose confidence is in thee. Amen."¹

Hymn:

"Dear Lord and Father of Mankind."

Prayer for a New World of Peace:

"Universal Father, we would discover causes whose effect shall be world peace. We would discern those causes that make for war and would uproot them. We thank thee for progress made toward the peace ideal—for the seed of peace which has been sown in the heart of humanity under all flags. We who pray for peace would live and work for it with intelligence and devotion in accordance with the teachings and ideals of the Prince of Peace. Amen."²

¹ By James Dalton Morrison, in *Minister's Service Book*. Willett, Clark & Company.

² By James W. Fifield, Jr., in *101 Prayers for Peace*, compiled by G. A. Cleveland Shrigley. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

A Creed for Today:

"I believe in the brotherhood of all men, whatever their race, color, creed, or class, as taught by the divine life of Christ, and I pledge myself, without thought of my own interests, to work unceasingly to establish by my daily actions that measure of injustice and equality in my own country and throughout the world which can alone form the basis for a happy Christian community of life. . . . I will fight on because I believe that thus alone can Christ's Kingdom be established on earth."³

Meditations Old and New:

"Every scribe who hath been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old."—*Matt. 13: 52*.

"The pessimist is always wrong. New worlds are ever waiting for discovery, and the end of one era means the beginning of another. If the powers released by modern science can be brought under control by the spirit of Christ and dedicated to the welfare instead of the destruction of mankind, we will move toward a civilization better than our fondest hopes."⁴

"So do we forget the old-time importance given to mere personal salvation, which was permission to live in heaven, and we think more of our present situation, which is the situation of obligation and of service; and he who loses his life shall save it. We begin to foresee the vast religion of a better social order."⁵

"There is a movement of life in the world in which God is working most clearly to lift the level of the life of men. Christianity is not merely a set of ideas: it is primarily such a movement."⁶

"The Christian movement toward world order transcends the lines of separation fixed by traditional faiths, and, in areas of agreement, is enlisting the co-operation of men of good will everywhere."⁷

A Prayer of Saint Chrysostom:

"Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto Thee; and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in Thy name Thou wilt grant their requests: Fulfill now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of Thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of Thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen."

³ By Stafford Cripps, in *Towards Christian Democracy*. The Philosophical Library, Inc.

⁴ By Walter Dudley Cavert, in *Remember Now*. Published by Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. Used with permission.

⁵ In *The Holy Earth*, by L. H. Bailey. Copyright by L. H. Bailey. Used with permission.

⁶ From *Christianity and Our World*, by John C. Bennett. Copyright by The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, Inc.

⁷ From *Toward World-wide Christianity*, edited by O. Frederick Nolde. Published by Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

New Technique of Private War

(Continued from page 4)

country is engaged in a race for atomic arms, will you look equably at the great sea of roofs around your house in the city? Any one of them may conceal the bomb. The beginning of a new war will surely involve not only the launching of the missiles, but the explosion of the mines that have secretly been set near key targets to provide the pin-point accuracy that long-range weapons may possibly lack. Government buildings will fall, the great communications facilities will be destroyed, ports of rail and air and sea traffic will be disabled, the crucial industrial installations will be attacked. All this will happen whether the air-borne bombs have pin-point accuracy or not. We may never know who did it, who planted or smuggled or shipped the bombs. And the measures we shall have to take in an effort to protect ourselves against this assortment of horrid possibilities will reduce international mobility in travel and trade to that which prevailed in the age of sail and will waste our men in guarding, snooping, and investigation.

Our President is reported to be irked with the necessity of having his person closely guarded, day and night. What will some future President feel about the

necessity of never approaching nearer than a couple of miles to his fellow man except after the most painstaking scrutiny of the neighborhood and the individuals it contains?

All these possibilities have been predicated on bombs that we know how to build—on bombs our nation is building today against an uncertain future. Like the considerations of other chapters, the considerations here made point to one fact only. We cannot seek national security in armament in a world possessed of atomic arms. Our achievement can only stimulate the ambition and the suspicion of other nations that may be as reluctant as are we to go to war. If one nation arms, all must; and if all nations arm in the terms of the atomic world, each is so overwhelmingly able to destroy the other that a war can almost be regarded as a sanitary measure. Its outbreak becomes inevitable.

The conclusion seems straightforward. We cannot allow our world, beset with many real problems, with much uncertainty and distrust, to drift into a state so fantastic that it beggars words, and so real that you have the photographs of it in the newspapers. An atomic-arms race must be prevented by international control of atomic energy. The saboteur cannot be found, but the factory that makes his bomb need never exist.

Liquor Taxes and Costs

Before Repeal, wets claimed that liquor taxes on the re-legalized "trade" would fill depleted public treasuries. Instead, for every liquor tax \$1.00 paid to federal, state, and local Governments, the "trade" has cost the people, and legitimate retail business, at least \$5.00—59 billions diverted to the brewer and distiller, plus the cost of social and economic waste due to liquor.

(The most striking illustration of this fact is seen in the official Massachusetts Legislative Survey of the Liquor Traffic in that state, which revealed that in 1943 liquor taxes aggregating \$13,139,266.79 were staggeringly offset by a cost to the state of \$61,000,000 (sixty-one million dollars) outlay to care for liquor-bred insanity, crime, dependents, etc. This \$61,000,000 was exclusive of the direct liquor bill of the state, conservatively estimated at more than \$200,000,000.)—*From Clipseet, January 13, 1947.*

The Workshop

S.E.A. Forum. The First Presbyterian Church of Mount Vernon, New York, has planned to conduct a series of discussions based upon five of the issues raised by the Pronouncements made by the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action and presented to the 158th General Assembly. A preliminary forum was called for January 28 to "provide for a full consideration of the question of Church participation in the settlement of social questions, the justification for such an undertaking, implications involved, and the appropriate means and methods."

Protest Against Militarism. The following communication on universal training was approved by the New York Presbytery at its meeting on January 13: "(1) We register our sincere and thoughtful convictions that the influences of the home, the Church, and the school must remain the primary factor in the training of American youth. (2) Therefore we reject any system in which the military would play a dominant role in the peacetime training and education of our youth during their most formative years. (3) We question the quality and the feasibility of the military to train our youth in the ideals and practices of American democracy. (4) We further question the advisability of the militarization of the youth of our nation on the European pattern, which has been discredited in two world wars and has brought destruction to those nations most militarized."

FEPC Petitions. In the Synod of Michigan the S.E.A. secretaries were called upon to aid in circulating petitions for initiating into the state legislature the Fair Employment Practices Council. There were 150,000 signatures needed and 50 were obtained in the small group in the Petoskey Church alone.

Restoration Fund Drive Spurs Further Action. The Kankakee Presbyterian Church, after overpaying its Restoration Fund quota in cash, invited its members to take another step forward toward world peace by expressing regret for the atomic bombing of Japan. In three weeks, \$4,000 were given as an expression of atonement toward the innocent people of Japan, with no solicitation other than the appeal from the pulpit on Restoration Day.

S.E.A. Report. Among the activities listed in Missouri's 1945-1946 report are the following items:

1. Missionary Society meeting programs based upon materials, furnished by the Presbyterian Board, on social education and action.

2. Brotherhood leaflets distributed in Sunday Schools for adults and young people.

3. Leadership provided for Boy and Girl Scout organizations.

4. World order programs inaugurated in July.

5. Letters written Congressmen on issues of S.E.A. import.

6. Japanese assisted in transit from relocation centers.

7. Clubs established for neglected boys and girls and summer camp opportunities provided.

8. Negro community centers set up, talent exchanged with Negro Churches, and a community race-relations institute sponsored.

9. Inter-Church laymen's committees organized to assist law officers with juvenile problems.

10. Forums conducted with special speakers, and book reviews presented on S.E.A. subjects.

11. SOCIAL PROGRESS subscriptions—112—sent in.

Group Relations in American Democracy

(Continued from page 20)

In other words, you are separating the group from the totality of the community.

What we have to advance toward is the common rights of all groups, and we can help by showing how some are denied these common rights, and proceeding to indicate these rights in the name of all rather than in the name of any group.

All groups everywhere are different. All men everywhere are different. So there is no question in any sane mind of an attempt to abolish differences. It is not even a question of the assimilation of differences, if by that is meant the reducing of them to one uniformity. It is the reception of the differences into the unity of the whole society. And that is quite a different thing.

These differences, I say, exist everywhere, and the trouble is that we misconceive what they are and what they mean. It is around differences that our group egoisms and our group interests cluster, and so the assertion of difference is associated with claims of superiority, denials of equality; and differences tend to be distorted into the caricatures that our prejudices and our ignorances create.

Such distorted ideas of other groups abound where, as peculiarly in these United States, we have a multigroup society. They do two things that are contrary to truth. First, they exaggerate the difference between the group that makes them and the group they are supposed to represent. They give the one group many virtues, and, of course, they give the other group many less favorable qualities. Thus they exaggerate the differences between groups, and, even more, they exaggerate the likenesses within the single group. They suggest quite fallaciously that those who belong to a particular group are extremely alike in certain important qualities.

All groups do this thing. Minority groups do it as much as majority groups. Subject groups do it as much as dominant groups. We all do it. For example, we find the Gentile's conception of the Jew uniform; whereas actually, Jewish people are one of the most variant of peoples, not only if we think in terms of differences of origin, but if we think of differences of individuals, families, and subgroups. Nevertheless, the Gentile still cherishes the simple image of the Jew.

All groups do that kind of thing, perverting our relations because we meet in terms of these pictures and not of realities. So it comes back to this: the major task, if we are going to get ahead, is the task of social education. What do we mean by that? What can we do by that? There is a great fundamental premise that somehow we have to get across in education. The premise is *that what we have in common is more fundamental than what we have separately, and that which unites us is deeper, more profound, more important, more real, than that which separates us.*

It is very necessary that this fundamental premise should be stated and restated with all the ingenuity we can display, and it is particularly important because we live in a time when every group is organized, when every group has its special voice, when we have new devices of propaganda for spreading these voices. We hear these warring voices, but we do not hear the voice of the whole, the voice of the community, and we have to find some way of bringing that common voice to the hearing of the people.

The Program

Education can be set going in many ways to this end. Our first job is to show up the falsifications that come from the tensions between group and group. We have to show how these bring danger to the commonweal, to our own country, and beyond that to our common humanity.

We can start in the schools. At present

we have practically no social education. We educate people in civics and so forth, but that is really secondary. If you educate people socially, you educate them concerning the way in which they should be related to other men. That is primary. We can start with the schools, and if we get it in the schools, we shall get it in the families, we shall get at the springs of indoctrination.

We must enlist, also, the Churches, the various faiths, and if we succeed here we can go farther and have an impact on the more distant chambers of government.

I suggest that this is the order in which to proceed: from the family, the people, and the Church to the state, and not the other way around, in this educational program. It is a vast program, a very difficult program, you may think. True, but at the same time there are many agencies that can be enlisted if we set about it. It is a good sign that this need for social education is beginning to be realized.

There are two media through which such instruction can be conveyed. One is the living word, the great medium of the word. The other is our way of life. One without the other may be vain. In other words, we have to give examples, we have to *live* relationships. Examples spread, both pernicious ones and the others, and if we combine the word with a way of life that represents a truer sense of relationship between groups, then we shall get ahead.

I believe the time has come for a really great social movement in this direction. Our generation has been going through a time of war and upheaval and crisis and tension. That period has been a bad one for the harmonious relations between men everywhere, not only between countries but within countries. We need to bring that time to an end. There is great need of new goals and new standards.

It is a question of bringing men to see what perils our society is facing. In this day we have to get beyond the narrow

group ethics that tend to dominate us, the narrow group ethics which, when we have no great binding faith, separate group from group. Each group has its own purposes, and it struggles for these purposes. So *we have the ethics of the group but we haven't the ethics of the whole*. We have to get beyond the fragmentation ethics of a divided society.

We need to think in terms of new standards and new goals, or a charter, a sort of charter of human relations that needs to be set up. Our age needs a new charter that will emphasize, not the relations of individuals, but the relations of groups, so that groups may be unified freely without loss, without prejudice, within the whole.

That unity is so much deeper than the differences that, once people see it, they cannot lose it any more. To teach this lesson is the great task of social education in the strictest sense of that word. Through social education alone can we attain this salvation of the society in which we live. To teach it we need new modes of expression, new forms, new words, new symbols.

You have noticed that over the portal of this building there is a symbol, the symbol of the burning bush, the bush that burned but was not consumed. I have more than once reflected on coming inside this door that I, too, in a far-off island, was brought up in a Church which had that same symbol, a different Church. It suggests something, that the symbol is greater than our differences, and we need symbols for this unity. That symbol of the bush that burned, the tree that was not consumed, suggests the kind of living spirit that animates, endures, lights, warms, but does not destroy. We can think of that as the spirit of man, the thing that has to be rescued from these differences. We can think of that tree as the symbol, and we may, perhaps, add to it another saying about a tree whose leaves were for the healing of the nations.

About Books

East River: A Novel of New York,
by Sholem Asch. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
\$3.00.

Could Sholem Asch have realized when he wrote *East River* that the locale of his story would be almost coincident with the site which was subsequently given to house the United Nations? Probably not, yet the coincidence is more than noteworthy.

Forty-eighth Street, between First Avenue and East River, was the home of a polyglot people: Polish, Russian, and German Jews; Irish Catholics; Italian Catholics; German Lutherans—all these and more struggled for a living and for the freedom they had learned to associate in the old world with America. Now, of course, these rickety tenements and slaughterhouses, these firetraps and factories, these sweatshops and stores, will be razed to build a magnificent skyscraper to house the representatives of the very nations who once populated these same fetid streets.

Sholem Asch depicts for us a real-life story in the vicissitudes of the Davidowski family, from the patriarch Moshe Wolf down to his physically paralyzed son, Nathan, and his spiritually paralyzed son, Irving. Yet the author does not present a one-sided picture; his knowledge of and his feeling for the indigent Irish Catholics, as represented by the ne'er-do-well McCarthy family, are just as acute.

Sholem Asch creates for us real-life characters; they live, move, breathe, and have their tortured existence in a thoroughly believable setting, believable because it is meticulously true. This reviewer has been, many times, on the exact spot where the story occurs; he has stood on the rotted wharf on the East River where the naked youths would swim in the slimy, oily waters seeking respite

from the oppressive heat of the summer.

Sholem Asch is one of the greatest contemporary men of letters our time has to offer; he may in time be classed with the literary titans of history such as Homer, Virgil, Dante, Goethe, Shakespeare, Tolstoy, and others. He pictures life as it is, presenting the only type of "realism" that is permissible—the presentation of the human being as a creature possessing a soul, whether he is black, white, slave, free, Jew, or Christian. He is able to write so that a onetime Roman Catholic could comment: "Surely this man must be a Catholic!" Yet he can picture the extremely pious mystical cabala practices of the Hasidic Jews with an almost fanatical fervor.

East River is a powerful lesson in social morality. It is a dynamic plea for tolerance, understanding, and love. If the Judaeo-Christian morality so strongly urged by the author in his book, *East River*, should infiltrate into the minds of the new tenants of the East River area, the United Nations, we may have hope for that "brave new world" which so many long for.

There is more truth in Sholem Asch's fiction than we ordinarily find in the most prosaic, factual pronouncements of many of our trusted Church and political agencies! *East River* deserves an honored place among those other widely read books by Sholem Asch—*The Nazarene*, *The Apostle*, and *One Destiny*.

WILLIAM M. HUNTER

Toward a United Church, by William Adams Brown. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

This volume will be a textbook in the study of ecumenicity for many years to come. Dr. Brown was in close touch with the movement toward unity for the three

decades he writes about in the book. He interprets it sympathetically but with scholarly criticism. Here and there are to be found incidents illustrative of the type of Christian leaders the movement attracted, or indicative of the quality of spirit nurtured by contemplation of this high road toward the Kingdom. To the author and to many who work, pray, and hope for growing oneness within the fellowship of Christians "the Ecumenical Movement is the effort to apply the spirit of the thirteenth chapter of I Corinthians to the Church's institutional life."

Dr. Brown sets forth a brief account and evaluation of co-operative movements, interdenominational efforts and others such as the World Y.M.C.A., World Y.W.C.A., and World Student Christian Federation. Then Dr. Brown devotes one chapter, the third, to "Converging Lines of Preparation." These were three: the foreign missions enterprise, the social expression of Christianity embodied in the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, and the Faith and Order Movement.

Part II of the book deals with "The Creative Decades," from the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 to the Utrecht Conference in 1938. There is growth toward unity pointed out, such as "Where Oxford Advanced Beyond Stockholm." The vitality of the movement is in no way better shown than in the way it continued to grow even after the war broke out.

It has been stated that like the acts of the Holy Spirit, recorded in the Scripture, the Ecumenical Movement came about, not by man's design, but by God's direction. Dr. Brown's book would confirm this observation. He who gave so much of his time to this work presents a modern acts of the Holy Spirit. For many the last chapter, "Ecumenical Movement in Perspective," will seem the best. Here the author-historian looks at the legacy of the past and points out the possibilities of the future.

JOHN C. WHITE

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, by Ruth Benedict. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.00.

Mrs. Benedict probes the Japanese mind and wrestles with Oriental peculiarities. She concludes that the Japanese will follow the nations of the world, toward peace, or if the trend be militaristic, toward war.

The reader must respect the conclusion of such a noted anthropologist, but the excellence of the book is not in its conclusion, nor in its short (20-page) interpretation of Japanese conduct since V-J Day. Its excellence lies in the clarity with which it portrays the Japanese man on the street.

The make up of this average Japanese mind is traced back to seventh-century Japan's seizure of Chinese culture. It was molded by civil wars, sharpened by the Tokugawa Era, and finally isolated. It was presented as one of the greatest problems of the past decade.

This man of Japan dreads world ridicule and courts world praise.

He is the militarist who holds a glittering sword to his injured son's throat to give him an honorable death if the doctor's probing should weaken his will and force him to cry out in pain.

He is the teacher who introduces fifth-grade children to the best-known Japanese story, *Tale of the Forty-seven Ronin*, in which a slight to a man's honor results in forty-nine known and numerous unknown deaths.

He is the reporter who sends back as fact the story of a Japanese air corps captain whose devotion to duty enabled him to give orders two hours after his death.

He is the businessman who has been unable to pay his debts during the past year and, facing the rising sun of the new year, plunges a dagger into his body with ceremonial composure.

He is the father who sends his son into the Kamikaze Corps and swears to guard

the homeland against invasion with sharpened bamboo spears, only to smile and wave to Americans two weeks later.

Only by a comparison of the Japanese mind with the American mind can an understanding be reached of the people of Japan. The author successfully carries out this comparison.

Social concepts diametrically opposite to those we hold are frankly discussed and diligently explained by the author. Only after we recognize the differences in our cultures can we hope to bring Japan into a new world order dominated by peace. Our task is made easier by the fact that Japan ardently desires a place in the world. That desire led her to an all-out armament program in the '30's, and it can eventually lead her to a seat among the United Nations of the world.

The road back for Japan will be long and arduous. A beginning has been made in the excellent job of occupation under the able direction of General MacArthur.

For the American who shrugs off the Japanese as an impossible group of 70 million little dilemmas, this book is a must. If we are to meet the demands of the world for enlightened American leadership toward a social brotherhood of nations, we cannot exclude a knowledge of the Japanese people.

Language difficulties force the author to use Japanese words for certain duties, respects, reverences, and indebtedness. A glossary aids the reader, but one may become entangled in a mesh of *on's*, *chu's*, *giri's*, and *ko's*. It may, even so, be the best way of dealing accurately with Occidental vs. Oriental thought and language differences.

RICHARD P. BAILEY

Remember Now, by Walter Dudley Cavert. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. \$1.00.

Dr. Cavert's wide experience as guide to Church Schools and young people's

societies—he is superintendent of Christian Education for the Presbyterian Synod of New York, chairman of the Youth Division of the Presbyterian State Council, and a member of the administrative committee of the United Christian Youth Movement—has brought him close to the continuous need of young people for sources of inspiration and encouragement.

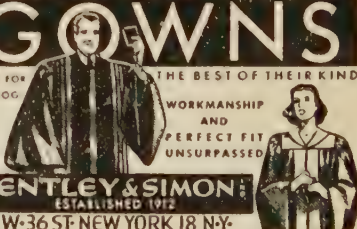
This conveniently small but easily readable volume is arranged in the form of daily devotional material under weekly topical headings. For each day there is a suggested Biblical reading and a short prayer, both chosen in keeping with the spirit of a wide and arresting variety of legends, anecdotes, interpretive comment on historical episodes or on quotations from the writings or speeches of outstanding persons of the past and the present.

The selections have been made on so broad a basis of spiritual and moral significance and are of such cultural and historical content as to make the book an addition to the shelves of any age group. Indeed, it is the sort of book that belongs on a handy table rather than on a shelf; or, for the traveler, in his suitcase.

As a source of strikingly quotable material for speakers or group leaders in the field of religious and secular education it will be found most valuable, at the same time being equally well suited to the needs of the person who might wish to read it in a mood of analysis and reflection.

G.M.M.

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Facts Can Be Faced

*By Clifford Earle **

AN INTERESTING and significant program of alcohol education is being carried on in the Oak Park Township High School, Oak Park, Illinois. The program, now in its second year and well beyond the experimental stage, is one of the most popular studies in the school's curriculum.

The Oak Park high school, with a student body of about 3,000, serves the youth of two large residential suburbs of Chicago. Both of these communities have long been dry by local option. The superintendent of the high school is Dr. Eugene Youngert, an outstanding leader in the field of secondary-school education. Dr. Youngert is convinced that the alcohol problem has become so serious across the country that it can no longer be overlooked or neglected by the public schools.

In the fall of 1945 a course on health was instituted as a required subject for all first-year students. The course is comprehensive in nature and is taught by members of the biology department. A significant portion of the course is a leisure-time unit in which the problem of alcohol is studied in all its ramifications. At least ten classroom periods are devoted to this important study.

In addition to classroom discussions and lectures, the pupils engage in a considerable amount of outside reading and research. They report that the alcohol unit is one of the most interesting in the entire curriculum, but by no means easy.

The unit on alcohol was prepared by Dr. Charlotte L. Grant, head of the Department of Biological Sciences in the high school. Dr. Grant spent most of the summer of 1945 in gathering materials and preparing the syllabus for the unit. The syllabus, which is carefully outlined and well written, consists of some thirty mimeographed pages, including a selected bibliography.

The scope and spirit of the study are indicated in the preface of the syllabus: "This pamphlet . . . attempts to bring you the scientific facts about alcohol. First, the ingredients, making, and uses of alcohol are described. Part II considers alcohol in the human body—its assimilation, measurement, and elimination. Part III portrays effects upon physical and mental health. Parts IV and V discuss sociological aspects of alcohol drinking from the point of view of experts such as Dr. Robert V. Seliger. Parts VI and VII call attention to advertising on alcoholic beverages, and the misconceptions that have arisen as the result

* Minister, Second Presbyterian Church, Oak Park, Illinois.

of advertising and practice among the public. From this collection of scientific data it is hoped that you will draw your own conclusions on the dangers of alcohol. . . . Your science teacher will be glad to discuss any personal questions on alcohol through an interview or after class. But only *you* can decide the kind of person you want to be as you develop into young manhood and young womanhood."

In the study of the alcohol problem the pupils are directed to sources of scientifically reliable information about the effects of alcohol upon the human system, and the effects of drinking upon society. Books, pamphlets, and periodicals, in addition to the course syllabus, are placed at the disposal of the pupils. The study is objective and scientific, and no attempt is made to accommodate facts to the purpose of the course. The facts about alcohol and drinking are fairly presented and intelligently interpreted, but moral implications and personal conclusions are matters for each pupil's decision.

After nearly two years, many interesting results have come from the use of the unit on alcohol in the Oak Park high school.

For one thing, Dr. Youngert reports that the school receives many unsolicited letters of appreciation and commendation from pupils and parents for this unit.

Moreover, it is apparent that the study of alcohol in the school gives

rise to an unusual amount of discussion of the subject in the homes of the pupils taking the course. In some of the homes, where there has been frequent social drinking, the problem of alcohol is for the first time seriously considered, and it is a matter of record that many parents have been persuaded to abandon the practice of serving liquor on social occasions.

Perhaps because Oak Park is technically dry by local option, many of the Churches have sat back and done nothing about the mounting menace of drinking as a major national problem. They have overlooked the fact that though the community is a temperance stronghold, liquor is used in a quite large number of the homes. Many young people of Oak Park have been led to think of drinking in terms of cocktails and highballs served at fashionable social events. Their attitude toward the use of alcohol is to a large extent determined by the social drinking they witness in their own homes and in the homes of their friends. The Churches, by their reticence in discussing the problem, have been doing very little to offset the impression made upon young minds by the drinking habits of some of their elders in the community.

Since the inauguration of the study of the alcohol problem in the high school, however, the discussion of the evils of drinking has been made a "must" in the Churches of Oak

Park. In fact, the high school encourages the Churches to do all they can to support and supplement its program of alcohol education.

At a meeting of the local ministers' association a few months ago, Dr. Youngert explained the high school's program in detail, and then challenged the Churches to back it up with intelligent and courageous efforts of their own. He pointed out that the Churches can emphasize the moral and spiritual implications of the problem, while the high school presents its scientific aspects, and thus bring the whole discussion to a point of personal decision.

It is the experience of many ministers in Oak Park that the young people who have had the health course in the high school insist that the discussion of the alcohol problem be given a prominent place in the youth programs of the Churches. Two or three years ago the subject was taboo. But the high school, by giving alcohol education a place in its curriculum, not only has removed the taboo; it has made the discussion of the drinking problem popular.

The young people of the Second Presbyterian Church of Oak Park, for example, in their annual planning conference last September, chose to give the liquor problem and race relations equal emphases in the action phase of the year's youth program. After discussing the drinking problem in their own groups, they decided to share their concern about

it with other youth groups in the community. So they arranged and sponsored an invitational rally attended by 200 people from ten neighboring Churches. The theme of the rally, "Let's Face the Facts About Beverage Alcohol," was adequately presented by a panel of speakers who discussed the personal and social ramifications of the liquor problem. Dr. Youngert, superintendent of the high school, was one of the discussants.

Education is one of three major approaches to the liquor problem in America. A second approach is legislation dealing vigorously with such phases of the problem as liquor advertising, liquor profits, the number of liquor outlets, the conditions surrounding the sale of liquor, and the liquor trade's responsibility for losses and injuries associated with excessive drinking.

The third but not least vital approach is aimed at understanding why people drink and eliminating as far as possible the things in our social and economic life that lead people to become victims of alcohol. These three—and the greatest of them is education!

If secondary schools across the country would inaugurate scientific studies of the effects of beverage alcohol, following the experience of the Oak Park Township High School, the drinking problem in this country would, it is reasonable to expect, be greatly reduced.

*The Church and Alcoholic Beverages**

General Assembly Pronouncement

In its Bulletin of January, 1947, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America published the operating principles by which its program of renewed concern in relation to alcoholic beverages will be guided. Because of the Federal Council's acknowledgment of "heavy indebtedness to the statement on alcoholic beverages adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America on May 26, 1940," and because of widespread acclaim awarded this pronouncement, we reprint the following excerpt from the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action embodying the pronouncement to which the Council refers.

THERE are four reasons why alcoholic beverages merit new concern. First, the strength of the social pressures toward drinking is increasing. Second, scientific studies have made available new tools for understanding the problem. Third, only an approach that does not oversimplify the nature of the problem can have a chance of success. Fourth, the accelerated tempo of the machine exacts an increasing toll of deaths and injuries through the use of alcoholic beverages.

Aid to Victims of Alcohol. We begin with pastoral and social concern for alcoholics and excessive drinkers, and for their families, who need the full ministry of the Church. We recognize that once drinking has passed a certain point, alcoholism is a disease, that is, the drinking cannot be stopped by a mere resolution on the part of the drinker. He needs treatment, not punishment; understanding, not condemnation.

Under no conditions will pastors permit drinking behavior to produce a withdrawal of pastoral concern for drinkers. We shall encourage the establishment of clinics and other facilities, when competently conducted, for the diagnosis, referral, and treatment of alcoholics. We shall give all possible aid to those organizations that work on a religious basis for the cure and rehabilitation of alcoholics.

While recognizing the dual origin of alcoholism and excessive drinking in both personal instability and social pressures, and accepting alcoholism as a disease that requires treatment, we reassert our conviction that the ethical aspects of the use of alcoholic beverages are underlined by our concern on behalf of the victims of alcohol.

Alcohol Education in the Church. Alcohol education in the Church must be persistent and many-sided, reaching adults no less than children and youth, accurate in its facts, uncompromising in its claims,

* See *Christian Citizenship*, Section 5. May be obtained from any Presbyterian Book Store.

intelligently graded and imaginatively presented. It should proceed despite those who deny there is an alcohol problem or those who believe the problem can be solved by a single act of legislation.

The aim of alcohol education is conviction and decision based on accurate knowledge. Dissemination of facts is not enough, but the facts presented must be both accurate and relevant. The following are our guiding principles of action:

1. The program shall be conceived in long-range terms, not merely as a special promotion for a limited period. At the same time, it will utilize such imaginative and dramatic devices as will explain and convince about the seriousness of alcohol as a social problem.

2. The program will look to the results of scientific study for accurate knowledge of facts, but it will not claim falsely the support of science for any action program.

3. While the program will lead toward commitment and conviction from the point of view of Christian ethical standards, it will clarify and explain the nature and strength of the social pressures toward drinking as well as help to create affirmative ways of conduct before which the pressures shall be powerless. The method is to win understanding, not to marshal arguments.

4. While alcohol education will be related to many activities within the Church, it must also be an ob-

ject of special concern and program.

Alcohol Education for the Public. While the chief educational task of the Church is with its own constituency, we also feel a Christian social responsibility for the guidance of the general public. We declare the following as our principles of action:

1. To encourage relevant public agencies to include in their programs scientifically accurate information about alcoholic beverages. This means especially the public schools, but also public-health departments, liquor control boards, and other agencies.

2. While making clear our ultimate position in relation to alcoholic beverages, we will co-operate on aspects of alcohol education of the public with other groups, public and private, whether they share our ultimate convictions or not, provided the particular program deals with some real problem of alcohol and provided our ultimate convictions are not compromised through the process of co-operation. Specifically, we will co-operate:

- (a) With temperance groups—when they are not so exclusively pre-occupied with immediate national prohibition as to impede action on educational and social control programs aimed at partial aspects of the problem.

- (b) With alcoholism and education groups—provided they take no

(Continued on page 25)

The Wagner Act in Operation

*By Gerhard P. Van Arkel **

In the February, 1947, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS we published, in condensed form, an article by Senator Ball relative to several aspects of various proposals for Federal labor legislative action by the 80th Congress. As such proposals would undoubtedly involve certain changes in the provisions of the Wagner Labor Act we arranged to present in the April issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS the following analysis of that act in operation. In addition, there appears, on page 9, a late résumé of possible trends toward "Milder Attitude on Unions."

A RECENT Gallup Poll disclosed that only 19 per cent of persons interviewed were able adequately to identify the Wagner, or National Labor Relations, Act. While these figures would be sufficiently surprising in the case of any Federal legislation, they are particularly so in dealing with what is perhaps the most controversial piece of legislation enacted in recent years. It may therefore be appropriate briefly to summarize the act and to consider its effect upon our national economy.

The act, which became a law on July 5, 1935, is a simple one with a simple purpose. For many years prior to passage of that act workmen had a legally recognized right to join trade-unions of their own choosing; the employer, however, also had a legal right to discriminate against men who joined unions, to make use of a black list of union members, to require the employees to sign "yellow dog" contracts by which they bound themselves not to join

unions, to set up company unions controlled by management, and otherwise to interfere with the right of employees to form trade-unions. Under these circumstances the rights that workers enjoyed were more theoretical than real.

Upon the signing of the Norris-LaGuardia Act by President Hoover in 1932, the "yellow dog" contract became unenforceable by injunctive process, and certain other restrictions were imposed upon the employer's right to enjoin legitimate trade-union activities. In 1933 Section 7 (a) was incorporated in the National Industrial Recovery Act, in effect forbidding interference with the right of employees to engage in lawful trade-union activities. The Wagner Act wrote into a separate statute the basic guarantees of Section 7 (a), set up a separate board to administer the law, and provided for sanctions in the Circuit Courts of Appeals of the United States. The sanctions are not criminal or punitive; they merely authorize the board to direct the employer to take the

* General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board, Washington, D.C.

necessary action to remedy the effect of unfair labor practices.

The National Labor Relations Board was also empowered to conduct elections to determine in democratic fashion the employees' wishes concerning trade-unions, and the employer was by law required to negotiate with the representatives selected by the majority of the employees in a good faith effort to reach an agreement. The constitutionality of the act was upheld in April, 1937, so that it has now been in full operation almost ten years. The following facts are significant:

1. During those ten years membership in trade-unions has increased from over 3,000,000 to over 14,000,000.

2. In that time the board has handled almost 90,000 cases; it has held 33,326 elections, in which more than 7,000,000 workers have voted.

3. Over 90 per cent of the cases filed with the board have been handled informally without the need for hearings or resort to the courts.

4. One of the principal purposes of the act, the prevention of strikes over questions of representation, has been in large measure achieved; in 1937, before the act could have been said to be fully effective, organizational strikes accounted for 76 per cent of all strikes, and by 1945 such strikes had dropped to 29 per cent of all strikes.

5. It is a notable fact that none of the national strikes experienced since

V-J Day were strikes over questions concerning union recognition or organization; almost entirely they involved substantive questions of wages, hours, and other working conditions over which the board has no jurisdiction.

It was hardly to be expected that a law entailing such profound changes in our industrial structure would not be severely criticized; the act deals with questions that arouse strong emotions. Collective bargaining, as the only fair means of settling industrial disputes in a democratic society, has seen a wide extension during the past twelve years; in significant measure the arena of dispute has moved from the right of workers to have trade-unions at all to that of substantive issues of wages, hours, and conditions of work. With large employers facing large unions it is hardly to be anticipated that some members of the public will not be injured if a fight starts. Yet there are encouraging signs that in most large industries management and unions have become aware of their public responsibilities and are showing a new eagerness to settle disputes by accommodation through collective bargaining rather than by strikes.

The existence of the act has significantly extended the area of democratic action. With few exceptions trade-unions are democratically run by their membership, and millions of workers have for the first time

experienced that sense of participation in the working affairs of an organization, which is the very essence of democratic action. Hundreds of thousands of persons to whom the right to vote has been heretofore denied have voted in elections conducted by the board.

The trade-union movement, since it exists to deal with employers, necessarily recognizes the continued right of employers to own and operate their businesses and is therefore committed to a system of free enterprise. Our experience during the war, when for necessary reasons disputes were settled by the National War Labor Board, slowed down to some extent reliance upon collective bargaining to settle industrial problems; we have now come a long way on the road back to genuine collec-

tive bargaining and there are hopeful signs that this trend will continue.

It is not an accident that almost the first effort of every totalitarian regime during the past quarter century has been the abolition of trade-union movements. Quite inevitably, in the absence of such voluntary means for workers to protect their living standards, it becomes necessary for the Government to step in to protect the living standards of its people in so far as it is able or inclined to do so. The net result must be an ever-growing control of the affairs of industry and workers by the Government with, eventually, growth of a police state and control of practically all activities of the citizen. Any serious impairment of the right of workers is a threat to the liberty of us all.

The City Church

*But within
The throbbing of the pulses of the world
Is silenced, and the soul is free to roam
At random through the mansions of the mind.
For in the quiet of the shadowed aisle,
The tired eyes are lifted to behold
The blessed Cross, illumined.
. from the sanctuary lamp,
Hung in the chancel.
. And amid the gloom
The soul can leave the body and ascend
The stair that leads from earth through flame and cloud
Up to God's heaven.¹*

—Author Unknown.

¹ From the *Union Church News Letter*, February, 1947. Used with permission.

Milder Attitude on Unions

*A Reprint **

THE kind of legislation that Congress eventually will pass is beginning to take shape. This legislation will be milder than was indicated earlier in the session.

Attention on labor legislation is shifting from the Senate to the House. Mr. Taft's Senate Committee, after many days of taking testimony, is sharply divided, and is showing a tendency to be moderate. Mr. Hartley's House Committee is inclined to be harsher with unions. As a result, the bill that finally emerges from a conference committee will be a compromise of the two committee viewpoints along the following lines:

Mediation-board idea is losing ground, and there is little better than a 50-50 chance of its enactment. Employers and some unions oppose such a board on the ground that all disputes of any consequence will end there, thus reducing chances of settlement by collective bargaining. A board of this kind was the cornerstone of last year's Case bill that went through Congress with little opposition. A stronger U. S. Conciliation Service may be substituted for the mediation board.

Cooling-off periods before strikes are losing favor. There is a feeling that the provision of the Case bill that required unions to delay strikes for 60 days would hamper bargaining by increasing the period of tension.

A new strike-vote plan is gaining some support. This calls for secret ballots on strikes at the end of negotiations, rather than at the beginning. The idea here is that workers will be less likely to strike after knowing what employers are willing to offer.

Compulsory arbitration of disputes, even in public utilities, is out. Employers and unions are equally opposed to this, and Congress will respect their views.

Mass picketing probably will be prohibited. Peaceful picketing by smaller groups will not be disturbed.

Jurisdictional strikes are to be outlawed. This will prevent unions from striking for the right to perform certain types of work or striking to force employers to sign contracts where rival unions already hold agreements.

Secondary boycotts almost surely will be prohibited. This will stop unions from refusing to install equipment that does not bear a union label, and will prevent unions from refusing to work on materials made

*Reprinted from *The United States News*, an independent weekly magazine on national affairs, published at Washington. Copyright, 1947, United States News Publishing Corporation. Used with permission.

in plants organized by rival unions.

Closed shops will not be barred on a national scale.

Checkoff of union dues is to be left undisturbed. There is little sentiment for preventing deduction of dues by employers, if they are willing to do so.

Industry-wide bargaining is not likely to be stopped by legislative action. Congress leans toward use of injunctions to terminate strikes in certain emergencies.

Financial reports by unions are likely to be required, as prerequisites to winning bargaining rights from the NLRB.

Injunctions to stop strikes in vital industries are favored, but with power to obtain such injunctions confined to the Attorney General, rather than employers. Use of the injunction probably will be limited to national emergencies decreed by the President, such as strikes in the coal or steel industry.

Wagner Act changes, of a rather moderate nature, appear to be in the making.

1. Free-speech guarantee for employers will be part of any bill changing the Wagner Act. This will assure employers the right to discuss union issues with their workers without fear of NLRB punishment.

2. Employers' right to petition for elections, at any time a union demands bargaining recognition, will be included in any change. NLRB now permits employers to ask for

elections only when two or more unions are competing for contracts.

3. Prosecuting and investigating functions of NLRB may be shifted to the Justice Department, leaving NLRB to be only a judicial body. This would break up the present staff of NLRB, which many employers consider prounion.

4. Bargaining. Unions may be required to bargain in good faith with employers, just as the Wagner Act now compels management to bargain with unions. A definition of collective bargaining also may be included. The proposed amendment also is designed to prevent a union from negotiating a wage pattern with one company and then applying it to all other companies in the industry on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

5. Responsibility for living up to contracts also may be required of unions. There is support for proposals that will make it possible for employers to sue unions for violation of agreements.

6. Foremen probably will be deprived of the protection of the act.

The net effect of this type of legislation will be to give employers a few more rights than they now have. Unions will be restricted somewhat, but not drastically. Bargaining itself will continue, although in a somewhat narrower sphere. The country will continue to have big unions, with power to strike, but use of that power will be moderately curtailed.

The Choice Is Yours

*By Haven Emerson **

FOR better or worse each of us chooses what he shall take into his mouth to taste, chew, and swallow. Our growth, work, study, play, and success in life are all directly related to such choice.

What we swallow should help, not hinder us, should leave our body tissues and organs better, not worse, in their substance and abilities to serve us. We may get temporary comfort or brief pleasure of taste from the solids and drinks that we take or these substances may make or mar our very way of life.

There are two substances of wide use which you will choose for or against about this time in your lives, and what I have to say may help you to make a wise decision. Alcohol and tobacco, offered as they so often are in ways to tempt the curiosity and imitative inclinations of youth, call for decisions that you yourselves will make, and at a time of life when most of you are quite generally uninformed as to the true effects of either of these substances upon your own minds and bodies, or upon your conduct whether at work or in play. Let us consider the facts about alco-

hol and leave tobacco for another time.

When a person chooses to swallow alcohol, whether in low percentages in beer or in higher percentages in wines, distilled liquors, and liqueurs, a lot of surprising things occur in him that he finds hard to explain or understand.

First of all, he feels a change, a sense of warmth, a vagueness in contact with others, a remoteness that makes him rather irresponsible. He talks more, his voice rises, he feels elated and he thinks he is stimulated, while as a matter of fact his self-control and judgment are at once depressed. He no longer can trust his own impressions of his own or other people's conduct.

You've been told you will be stimulated by beer, wine, or whisky. You are surprised to find that anything you try to do you do very poorly. Your clumsiness of hand or tongue does not distress you because your wits are too dulled by the alcohol to observe and reason clearly.

You've been told that beer is nourishing, like a glass of milk, a cup of broth, or potatoes. It is a surprise to find you still feel hungry and remain quite unsatisfied by the drinks you have taken, quite necessarily so, because alcohol is in no proper sense a food.

* Onetime Commissioner of Health of New York City; since 1933, member of the Board of Health of that city. For 25 years, Professor of Public Health Practice in the School of Public Health, Columbia University. From *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 26, 1946. Reprinted in *Alcoholfax*, January, 1947. Used with permission.

It will surprise you when your companion who decided not to drink tells you of the awkward, vulgar, coarse, and impolite things you did in the thoughtlessness of your drinking, and you do not know why or how you behaved in ways so contrary to your upbringing, your decent inclinations, your rational normal habits.

When an alcoholic drink is offered, why do you take it? Probably because of curiosity and the example of others, or just because you don't quite know how or why to say, "No, thank you!"

Perhaps of first importance is the fact that alcohol is not a normal ingredient of any healthy human body tissue or fluid and is incapable of being combined with or incorporated or stored for use in any part or organ of the body. It is not needed for perfect growth and development of our bodies or any of their functions at any age in health. It is handled by our bodies as a foreign and harmful substance.

Alcohol in small, so-called moderate, or in large, amounts, does not benefit the structures of the body nor the work that the body or mind does.

The chief reason for this failure to benefit the body is that the most important effect of alcohol is to depress, slow down, delay, and render incompetent or definitely inferior the performance of the cells of the brain. This depressant action of alcohol is invariable. It does not stimulate anything we undertake to do.

The earliest effect, almost always unnoticed by the person who has drunk the alcohol, is a loss of judgment, of self-control, of discretion, of responsibility. It is this effect that makes the person with even small amounts of alcohol in his blood quite incapable of judging of his own performance and ability. He thinks he is saying smart things, but does not see how silly he appears. He thinks he is witty, agreeable, skillful in the dance, or at some game, or when driving a car. He often thinks and acts as if he were a stronger, more courageous, daring fellow with word and deed than his companions, when as a matter of fact he is more clumsy, awkward, unskillful and uses language he would be ashamed of if his wits and judgment were not muddled.

It is not the fault of the eye that he sees a blurred or double image, or of his muscles that his fingers fumble with his coat buttons, or his knees feel weak and wobbly. These common later effects of several cocktails or a bottle or two of beer are all the results of the depressing effect on the brain and spinal cord which can no longer make the muscles work together and perform their duties.

Alcohol, even in small amounts, slows our reaction time from five to ten per cent, so that our eyes and hands do not work together, nor the body respond with its usual speed and accuracy to a warning of touch or sound or sight. Whether at work

or play, we become slower and less efficient after drinking alcohol. Remember, I am not describing the severe or late effects as seen in a drunkard, or person obviously intoxicated, but merely the mild, early, and temporary changes in mental and bodily performance in quite healthy young men and women, high-school boys and girls, when they take alcohol.

Such effects are more marked and quicker to appear when the alcohol drink has been taken when the stomach has no food in it, and the effects in proportion to the amount taken are greater the less the body weight and the more immature and unstable the character and personality of the drinker. These are simple truths supported and vouched for by the medical sciences and so taught in all our schools of medicine today.

You are to choose whether what you drink and swallow helps you to keep and develop your health, or steals away your capacity to think quickly and reason clearly, and makes your behavior unreliable. For those too unstable or weak, or with such a sense of social inferiority that they think they need something to support their self-respect, alcohol proves to be a weak and deceptive crutch, a depressant, not a stimulant, something apt to betray them into weakness and shame when they want without doubt or question to appear at their best.

Keep your eyes and ears open when you find yourself where alcohol is used by young people and tell me if I have overstated the truth. Trust your own unclouded minds and your own clear-cut judgment rather than the unreliable emotions roused by the drug effects of alcohol.

Monopoly

Russell Porter, writing in The New York Times, Sunday, February 16, 1947, states: "The great enemy of the people is monopoly, either private or Governmental, because it restricts production, raises prices, lowers real wages and the standard of living, and exploits workers and consumers in the interests of a privileged class. But Government monopoly is the worst because, backed by military power and secret police, it is the hardest to get rid of. Legislation and public opinion can curb business and union monopolies, but only a revolution can free a people from a Government monopoly that wants to perpetuate itself in power."

Exterminating World Poverty

*A Reprint **

IN THE Middle Ages when the black plague swept over Europe and killed a fourth of the people, our ancestors began to learn something vital to their existence. They learned that, when the plague strikes, it is a threat not only to the overcrowded slums—where it is most likely to start—it is a threat to everyone. From this realization grew our health rules and regulations, which, backed by scientific research, have been so successful in our war against disease.

The world situation today demands a similar approach to the black plague of poverty. It is dangerously unhealthy for the whole world when over half of it cannot get enough to eat.

There are a billion people in Asia and, of these, many millions die of starvation each year. Many more millions make shift to survive in a half life of hungry, forlorn, and impotent suffering. Modern techniques of production and distribution make this festering condition totally unnecessary. The means exist for man to feed, clothe, and house himself adequately. The problem is how to use these means wisely.

The Power of Industry

Preindustrial nations, like China, India, and the Latin-American countries, are determined to use the power of industry to raise the living standards of their people, and to protect them from aggression. They can achieve this goal more quickly if they have the help of nations already well industrialized. The latter, especially the United States and Great Britain, are disposed to help as effectively as they can, in the interests of expanded trade, world peace, and human betterment.

An era of peace, then, would also be an era of concerted attack upon world poverty through the power of industry. It would be an era of dam-building, irrigation, farm machinery, soil conservation, factory-building, and the use of electric and even atomic power all over the world. There is enough to be done to keep everyone constructively employed for generations. But constructive and beneficial as such a program will undoubtedly be, it carries within itself two major dangers.

The first is the danger of population explosions; and the second is the possibility that industrial power might be misused for military aggression. Recently, Dr. Eugene Staley, Director of the San Francisco

* From *Economic Affairs*, December, 1946. Published by the Institute of Economic Affairs, New York University. Used with permission.

branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations, stressed both of these dangers. It is upon his remarks that much of this article is based.

A Low Death Rate

One of the benefits of industrialization is a lowering of the death rate. With the healthy growth of industry come better sanitation and medical care, quick transportation and communication, a more adequate and nutritious diet, improved housing, and other advantages leading to longer life. What happened in England is a good example.

Two hundred years ago—before the industrial revolution—out of each thousand of the British population, 30 to 35 persons died every year. In 1942 the annual death rate was only 12 deaths per thousand. In other words, this industrial society succeeded in reducing its death rate by nearly two thirds. There is every reason to suppose that the industrialization of China, India, or any other country would have a similar effect.

And a High Birth Rate

The industrialization of England was not, of course, of unalloyed benefit to all. Factory workers, including young children, were cruelly exploited and worked long hours, and were crowded into noisome slums. Nevertheless, from the overall point of view, conditions did gradually improve. And, as the improvements of industrialization were

introduced, fewer people died in childhood, and the average person could expect to live longer.

But while the death rate was steadily declining, the birth rate stayed where it was until 1880. The reason for this would seem to be that custom dies hard. In a preindustrial society there are advantages in having a large family. Many of the children do not survive, and those who do, especially in agricultural areas, soon become able to contribute to the family support. In all countries that have become industrialized, people continued to have large families long after science had substantially reduced the high toll of death.

This process resulted in population increases that were often startling in their rapidity. In Europe, for example, there are four or five times as many people as there were before the industrial revolution. Fortunately there was room for them, and there were very large emigration outlets to North and South America and other parts of the world. When there is plenty of space, a rapid population increase can take care of itself and is indeed beneficial. Where space is lacking, population pressures bring very definite dangers.

The Overcrowded Land

In China and India the average population density is about 250 people per square mile. For predom-

(Continued on page 29)

Miss Rodgers Retires

It is with deep regret that we announce the retirement because of ill health of Miss Elsie G. Rodgers, Associate Director of the Division of Social Education and Action and Associate Editor of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* since 1939. Miss Rodgers has given active leadership to the work of the Division since coming to its staff in 1934 from another department within the Board. During these years her wise counsel and competent work have contributed greatly to the respect the Division has enjoyed for balanced leadership in the field of social education and action. We speak for all those she has served so well in this expression of regret for the necessity of her leaving, and of gratitude for the enduring quality of her work and vision.

362 Chaplains Appraise Military Training

This is the report of the testimony of 362 chaplains who in response to a poll by mail sent us their judgment on the effect of the wartime training program on the character of the young men and women who served during the last war. It is the witness of the men of God whom we commissioned to live with, and, if need be, to die with, the youth of our homes as they fought this most desperate war. Now that the testimony of the personal and firsthand observations of this company of men, who, from their position of advantage with our youth and their devotion to righteousness, are best prepared of any in all the land to render such a judgment, has been secured, the exceeding importance of honestly and fairly presenting the evidence is fully recognized. It will not serve the cause of the peace or the precarious existence of humanity in this atomic age to try to color the evidence. Truth cannot be served by silencing the testimony.

The questionnaire asked: "From your observation did the military program and environment influence the character, health, and behavior of the men helpfully, indifferently, or injuriously?" The covering letter cited the action of the 158th General Assembly, affirming its "opposition to the adoption of peacetime conscription for military training or service" and pointed out that benefits to health and character training had been and again might be advanced by the advocates of conscription. Some chaplains challenged us with the suggestion that we sought evidence only in support of the General Assembly position. That was not the purpose of the questionnaire, nor was it the result, as the returns witness.

The questionnaire did not ask for opinions on such critical questions as the economic and human waste of armaments, armament rivalries and in-

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ternational distrust, militarism and democracy, preparedness and security, or defense in the atomic age.

The Vote

The tabulation of the vote is interesting but could not be so convincing as the extended replies that reached this office. The answers frequently covered both sides of the questionnaires and often extra typewritten sheets.

There was general agreement among the chaplains that the health of the men had been improved, and there was also general neglect of the question concerning the influence of the Army life on the men's habits. The replies indicated that the influence of the services on the character of the men was the point of greatest import and strongest opinion. Many stressed that the training had various effects, depending upon the background of individuals and upon the conditions in and around camps. But on this issue the replies fall into three general groups:

1. Those who believe that the service was or was inclined to be of character-training value (81).
2. Those who believe its effect was indecisive (76).
3. Those who believe it was definitely harmful to character (205).

It must not be assumed that these figures are votes for or against peacetime training. Many volunteered their votes on this matter, but that was not the purpose of the inquiry.

First let us hear from the group that believes military service is of character-training value. Some started by dissenting: "I am not in sympathy with the resolution of the last General Assembly." This is the spirit of a worthy son speaking in the tradition of our dissenting forbears. The position is often taken in this group, and occasionally in the others, that the decision on training must be made on the basis of national security, "for the moral issue is remote, if not obscure." . . . "If we can get along without compulsory peacetime service, fine. But if our national security demands a larger army, then I am in favor of it." Benefits are claimed in "training and discipline of great value to the majority." . . . "It is my opinion that young men have a fairer chance to go right in the Army than out of it." . . . "The Navy offers more to young men than any other institution." The intimacy of military life "serves to break down racial and religious prejudice." . . . "The broadening influence of the service—travel, friends, different work, community of effort in war or peace—are most valuable. When they come not at the cost of lifework or school training . . . much has been gained."

The fruits testify also to the nature of the tree in the statement, "The servicemen are taking the responsibility of fatherhood more seriously than those who stayed at home." The benefits to the chaplains, themselves, were also witnessed to: "Service life jolted us out of our provincialism," and, "Many, including some chaplains, have learned to organize routine work."

We are also quite properly reminded that "Army life is not synonymous with vice. There are other institutions that mold character. Much depends on the type of home from which men have come." . . . "If parents will stop passing the buck and Church leaders will do more than pass resolutions!" . . . "There existed in the Army a sense of comradeship and fellowship"; but, conceding failure, "Why blame the Army?" . . . "Was it only in the branches of the service that behavior reached a low level?" . . . "A business convention can result in [evil] experiences." . . . "Some succumb . . . they might have in civilian life." . . . "The only menace to youth in the Army is the near-by town." . . . "Religious illiteracy was very obvious." Instead of opposing any kind of training, "it would be much more appropriate for the Church to spend every effort to develop a positive program that will safeguard the morals of trainees."

The value claimed for training was generally related closely to the attitude of the commanding officer and station location. "It is beneficial in proportion to the attitude of the commanding officer." . . . "I do wish there had been some more requirements for those in authority." . . . "Such a poll is difficult, for the observations made were conditioned by the type and station of duty. I was exceptionally fortunate. I know of only one chaplain who had comparable duty." Such earnestness pervades all the replies as strikes one in: "I have two sons who shall one day be called to serve. I want them to be ready." . . . "We all want to safeguard our youth from moral and spiritual disaster, but we cannot com-

pletely accomplish this by shielding them from all temptations."

We have placed in the second classification those whose replies did not permit us to place them either with those who attacked or with those who defended the character-training influences of the armed forces. These are not men without opinion. They believe the experience was not decisive on questions of character, or that its effect upon individuals was so varied as to make impossible a judgment. "An over-all judgment would probably show that on the majority, because of the millions involved, the effect of military service on character was 'indifferent.'" . . . "I do not believe it possible to make a categorical statement one way or the other." Many stated that "what happened to our men in the Army depended largely on what happened to them before." . . . "A larger percentage reflecting the inadequacy of their own early training adopted the standards of the loosest of the group." . . . "It is my observation that the young men in the service did not change very radically." Failure in character "was due to their home life and lack of training before they came to the service." This group also holds that much "depends on the attitude of the officer" and even states that in matters of significant influence on character "indifference would be the highest for which one could hope." But there is some judgment here too: "Training ought not to be under the direction of professional military people, for they destroy the spirit of free men." Apparently the war experience revealed, not merely produced, failure, not alone in the physical realm but also an appalling failure in religious training. "The American educational system from the cradle on is not geared to produce a person who at eighteen is ready for the 'sink or swim' approach to life." . . . "We shall have to bestir ourselves to train boys in the home, school, and Church. The majority of eighteen-year-olds were religious illiterates."

The third classification represents the great majority and also includes quite the most extensive treatment and the most intense condemnation. The reactions are strong, and, occasionally, violent, especially from some who reported considerable overseas service. They bring strong condemnation of the influence of the service on character. "The beer parties for the crew . . . the patronage of prostitutes, and continual listening to profanity will damage any youngster." . . . "What are the possibilities of decency in an organization whose so-called 'amoral' interest in life is prophylaxis for V.D. and in which old-timers openly encourage promiscuity and immoral practices." . . . "Too often have I heard [that servicemen] by their daily demeanor have been the best advocates of democracy and Christianity. I take issue with that type of Pollyannish thinking. What I witnessed in Europe of subanimal morality, adulterous behavior, drinking in violent excess, plundering of personal property under guise of 'liberation,' the orgy of profanity!" . . . "Service in the armed forces tends to injure the character of our young men more than anything that has happened in our history." . . . "Foxhole conversions took place mostly in the press." . . . "Gambling is extremely widespread." . . . "The most devastating influence on morals and character was always present." . . . "All were quite young; their moral behavior was constantly on the down grade." . . . "Character training becomes farcical, when for six days a man is taught to be brutal and then for a short while he is induced to think about the ideals of the Nazarene."

The importance of the home influence is also testified to by this group. Many feel it is harmful to take a young man from the influences of the home, the Church, and the school in his settled community and that this uprooting does violence to many fine but immature youths. "My files are full of young men . . . who could have

come through . . . had they the benefit of parental advice." The "influence of the Army is 90 per cent injurious." . . . "The Navy does not cultivate ideals. There is little or no room for a young man to develop initiative. As a seaman he takes orders from every other rank and rating. If three and one half years in the chaplaincy have proven any one point of view, it is the harmful influence of the military program. Moral standards are at best lax, and often group pressures are definitely immoral." As though to balance the father's statement in the first group, there appears this in the third: "No misfortune much worse could befall a son of mine than to serve in the armed forces in the lower rates." The responsibility for this failure is often placed at the door of the officer: "The 'amoral' philosophy of many officers among us, the semiofficial endorsement of prostitution."

"The following example is probably not typical but will illustrate the attitude of the military toward questions of morals and character. In Nagasaki the division, over the protest of the chaplains, established ten houses of prostitution, officially marked with large numbers. When the chaplains tried to protest, the division (a) obtained orders to ship out the chaplains leading the protest, and shipped them out five days before Christmas, necessitating several units to be without chaplains for Christmas celebrations; (b) refused to forward letters from chaplains in the division to Washington that asked action on this problem (such refusal is against all military law); (c) refused to forward chaplains' annual reports to Washington that contained any reference to this situation and threatened chaplains by canceling their sailing date to the U.S.A."

And the position is also taken that "advocates on the whole will come from those who out of pride or vanity for their careers simply seek to perpetuate the system." One chaplain enters his protest: "In some instances a chaplain could have got farther

if he had the status of a Red Cross official." But all experiences were not so unhappy: "I have the highest opinion of top-flight officers in both services but life in the services is abnormal, especially for eighteen- or nineteen-year-olds."

The claim that "military training is democracy in action" also comes in for some rough handling. "The argument that military training will be a training school for democracy and American principles is one of the most astonishing statements ever." . . . "It is a feudal system in a democratic country." . . . "Regimentation, totalitarianism [are not] good training for citizens in a democracy." . . . "A disciplined character on duty, the loose character off duty." . . . "Because so much time is on their hands they were becoming indolent and irresponsible. Just to get by was the attitude." . . . "The foul-minded ones have the most influence. They never fail to purvey their smutty jokes, so their line of speaking becomes the accepted mores of the group." Chaplains support the opinion that it is a sin against youth to place so much pressure on young men away from home.

"What we need is an appraisal by chaplains since the cessation of wartime activities." The few replies we have on this question fall within the third group. "My observation on board the Army transport was that after the war was over these young men who had never seen active

service were definitely injured by their Army associations—I heard more foul language used by these men on one voyage than on all the voyages [with] returning veterans." The most recent testimony came in a letter received from a chaplain in Stuttgart, Germany. In addition to replies on the questionnaire, the chaplain writes: "I have been here in one regiment since December, 1945. No man brought into the Army through selective service or conscription should be sent out of the United States. No young men under twenty-one years of age should be *conscripted* into the Army or be *allowed to enlist* in any armed services. *Husbands* should not be conscripted. I could write a long letter of reasons."

These selections from the report represent the vivid and at times all too graphic testimony to the mighty and violent forces that beat against our sons and daughters. The more honor to those who came through and understanding for those who faltered! Death is not the only hazard they faced. There is strong opposition here to any attempt to place America's youth in the same Army hands in peace that shaped them in war "until military offices comprehend and utilize the value of spiritual training." The influence of the service training on character has been weighed by these chaplains—weighed and found wanting.

—P.N.P.

But the wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand, which perishes in the twisting; that the State must follow, and not lead the character and progress of the citizen; the strongest usurper is quickly got rid of; and they only who built on Ideas, build for eternity; and that the form of government which prevails, is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it. The law is only a memorandum.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

WORLD ORDER

*World Peace and the Far East **

"The welfare and security of all peoples are bound up in the welfare and security of the Far Eastern countries," according to the statement "Towards Peace in the Far East," which was adopted at the biennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, held December, 1946, in Seattle.

The purpose of the statement, prepared by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, is to set forth the need to examine world order problems in eastern Asia in the light of principles for which our Churches have stood, and to provide a framework for future study by the Commission. A set of five guiding principles, on which a constructive Far Eastern settlement must rest, are outlined below:

1. *The Far Eastern settlement must reflect due regard for the moral and material welfare of the peoples directly concerned.* Time after time efforts to stabilize international relationships in east Asia have broken down, because of failure to take this elementary principle into account. The economic weakness and technical backwardness of the Asiatic peoples have tempted more powerful states to settle their differences in Asia at the expense of the native peoples.

2. *The Far Eastern settlement must safeguard the fundamental rights of the human person.* This principle flows from the concept of man as created by God and endowed with certain inherent and inalienable rights. . . . The masses of east Asia, cut off by ignorance and irresponsible rule from any real voice in the government of their own affairs, cannot provide the popular base for a stable settlement, unless these barriers are overcome by the wide extension of education and democracy.

3. *The Far Eastern settlement must contribute to and be an integral part of a*

world settlement. There is, no doubt, value in regional interrelationships, but only as subordinate to the U.N.

4. *The Far Eastern settlement must provide for that mutuality of interest and creative effort which can increase international understanding and fellowship.* The experience of UNRRA and the Inter-Allied Control Council in Berlin indicates the difficulties of organizing international action. Unilateral action may be technically much more efficient, yet, as the American delegates at the London Council of Foreign Ministers argued in relation to the former Italian colonies, a multilateral arrangement may provide the only genuine hope for removing a problem from the area of divisive competition.

5. *The Far Eastern settlement must encourage the more privileged nations to share their scientific and technical resources with those less privileged.* If the Asiatic countries now lacking the equipment necessary for a highly industrial economy are to attain an adequate standard of living, the industrialized states will need to pursue generous policies in making available machines and skills.

The statement recognizes the practical difficulties confronting statesmen in the application of these relevant principles, and concludes with a description of the forms of direct action that Churches may take in working toward just and durable peace in the Far East. Through missionary aid to the younger Churches abroad, through Christian education and witness, through support for the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, through sacrificial contributions to relief and reconstruction, both individuals and Churches can "elevate the spiritual, moral, and material welfare of millions in Asia" and can "help to build that sense of fellowship and world community on which world order must be based."

* From *Federal Council Bulletin*, February, 1947. Used with permission.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Housing and Rent Control

S. 590. A bill to terminate all rent control by the end of 1947. This bill, introduced February, 1947, by Senator Buck (R., Del.), Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Rent Control, may have considerable backing. It provides that rents be frozen as of December 31, 1946; an across-the-board increase of 10 per cent be permissible on all property rented as of December 31, 1946; all controls be eliminated on new construction and renovations begun after December 31, 1946, and on living quarters rented for the first time after this date; and landlords be subject to a fine of \$1,000 and the payment of complainant's court costs, if found guilty of violating the act.

S. 528, introduced by Senators Wagner and Murray, would extend present controls until June 30, 1948. The provisions embodied in this measure have been advocated by the A.F.ofL., the CIO, AMVETS, VFW, AVC, and other organizations.

Both bills have been referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 1750. This bill, introduced by Representative Douglas, on February 6, 1947, has been referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency. It authorizes the Federal Government to make \$1,000,000,000 in loans to local public-housing agencies at 2½ per cent interest, for terms extending up to sixty years; to make annual contributions up to 2 per cent of the project's development cost, and aims toward providing housing for veterans and their families, at rentals not to exceed \$50 a month.¹

Alcohol

S. 623, introduced by Senator Johnson (D., Colo.), prohibits paid advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio in certain circumstances. It has been referred to the Interstate Commerce Committee.

Displaced Persons

Legislation to admit some 400,000 displaced persons still goes begging for prominent Congressional sponsorship. *The New York Times*, March 2, 1947, carried an article to the effect that no persons would be admitted beyond present quotas. If this is true, it means that most of the 900,000 people, 80 per cent of whom are Christians, must continue to live in concentration camps.² Write the President of the United States.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

The House Ways and Means Committee has scheduled hearings soon to discuss the postponement of any action on reciprocal trade. In an endeavor to obtain a "hands off" policy by Congress the State Department promised to include reservations in future agreements that would permit parties to the agreement to modify in favor of any industries hurt by the agreement.

Even this does not satisfy the House isolationists. Meanwhile, the world's most highly industrialized country has promoted a United Nation's policy and organization for trade barrier reduction. The question now is whether we can deliver our own support at the 18-nation Geneva Conference on reciprocal trade agreements in April.

The Commerce Department has issued statistics demonstrating that in every important instance where we have lowered tariff walls for concessions abroad we have benefited enormously. Our sales to countries with which we had agreements in years prior to the war increased 63 per cent, with nonagreement countries 22 per cent.³

¹ From *Legislative Newsletter* No. 3, 2-15-47, N.P.H.C.

² See *SOCIAL PROGRESS*, page 23, March, 1947.

³ From *UDA Congressional Newsletter*, 2-18-47.

Reorganization of Congress ⁴

A report as to how the reorganization of Congress is working out in practice is appropriate at this time.

The committee structure in both the House and the Senate has been simplified and the committees strengthened, each of the fifteen committees in the House and the nineteen in the Senate thus becoming more important politically. Therefore the individual concerned with making democracy work must begin at the point where bills or proposals are under discussion in committee. This calls for far more critical reading of the newspapers and for careful attention while proposed bills are under discussion. It means that all citizens should have a committee list on hand so that they may know on which committees their Senators and Representatives are serving and contact them in addition to the chairman of the committee to which a bill has been referred.⁵

Another simplification that has been brought about is that sessions of the Senate are confined to Mondays and Wednesdays generally, with committee sessions on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Senators can now plan to give full attention to committees as well as duties on the floor. The House setup is still under reorganization. It is expected that it will be similar to the Senate.

There are other points of improvement to be carried out by legislation that could well be passed by the 80th Congress. These include permissive joint hearings of the House and Senate committee. There could be further safeguards for Congressmen's time, such as the appointment of a director of personnel and executive assistants. Seniority as the basis for selection of committee chairmen in Congress is a matter of tradition, not law. This often proves a stumbling block to the selection of the most able men for vacant chairmanships. A policy of selection that would consider geographic, economic and cultural factors rather than age or party would be more satisfactory.

Every thoughtful citizen should be concerned as to whether this real start toward the reorganization of Congress will be continued. The House has continued the Committee on Un-American Affairs as a special committee. Two special Senate investigating committees have been formed: (a) Investigation of National Defense and (b) Small Business Committee. Are we already on our way back to thirty-one overlapping committees, or will the line be held?

A list of committee chairmen follows:

Senate

Agriculture and Forestry—Arthur Capper, Kansas
Appropriations—Styles Bridges, New Hampshire
Armed Services—Chan Gurney, South Dakota
Banking and Currency—Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire
Civil Service—William Langer, North Dakota
District of Columbia—C. Douglass Buck, Delaware
Expenditures in the Executive Departments—George D. Aiken, Vermont
Finance—Eugene D. Millikin, Colorado

⁴ See SOCIAL PROGRESS, page 21, September, 1946.

⁵ List of House committees obtainable from Clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. List of Senate committees obtainable from the Secretary of the Senate, Washington, D. C.

Foreign Relations—Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan
 Interstate and Foreign Commerce—Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine
 Judiciary—Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin
 Labor and Public Welfare—Robert A. Taft, Ohio
 Public Lands—Hugh Butler, Nebraska
 Public Works—Chapman Revercomb, West Virginia
 Rules and Administration—C. Wayland Brooks, Illinois

House of Representatives

Agriculture—Clifford R. Hope, Kansas
 Appropriations—John Taber, New York
 Armed Services—Walter G. Andrews, New York
 Banking and Currency—Jesse P. Wolcott, Michigan
 District of Columbia—Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois
 Education and Labor—Fred A. Hartley, Jr., New Jersey
 Expenditures in the Executive Departments—Clare E. Hoffman, Michigan
 Foreign Affairs—Charles A. Eaton, New Jersey
 House Administration—Karl M. LeCompte, Iowa
 Interstate and Foreign Commerce—Charles A. Wolverton, New Jersey
 Judiciary—Earl C. Michener, Michigan
 Merchant Marine and Fisheries—Fred Bradley, Michigan
 Post Office and Civil Service—Edward H. Rees, Kansas
 Public Lands—Richard J. Welch, California
 Public Works—George A. Dondero, Michigan
 Rules—Leo E. Allen, Illinois
 Un-American Activities—J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey
 Veterans' Affairs—Edith Nourse Rogers, Massachusetts
 Ways and Means—Harold Knutson, Minnesota

How a Bill Becomes a Law

1. Any member of Congress may introduce a bill. Bills may be written by an outside party, by a member of Congress, or by a Government agency. Many a bill is marked "By Request." This means the Congressman has no interest in it, and that the bill has been introduced at the request of a constituent.
2. Bill is assigned to a committee.
3. Committee hearings take place.
4. Committee reports the bill out, favorably or unfavorably.
5. Bill goes to the rules committee.
6. Bill debated by the whole body.
7. Bill signed by officer of body.
8. Bill goes to opposite body.
9. Same procedure through this second body.
10. Joint conference committee if the bill passes second body in a different form.
11. Conference report voted on by both House and Senate. If they fail to agree, bill may go back and forth several times.
12. Bill is signed by speaker of the House and president of the Senate.
13. Bill goes to President to be signed or vetoed. To override a veto, both houses must pass it again by a two-thirds vote.
14. The enrolled bill is filed with the secretary of the Senate and becomes an act.

The Church and Alcohol Beverages

(Continued from page 5)

official stand that might compromise our convictions concerning drinking by non-alcoholics or the trade in alcoholic beverages.

(c) With scientific groups—provided their methods are consistent with the canons of science as applied to alcohol research, and provided the conclusions drawn from their studies are consistent with what the studies themselves have disclosed.

(d) With public-spirited groups—within or outside the Churches—who are concerned with any significant aspect of the alcohol problem, provided such co-operation does not compromise the ultimate position and witness of the Church.

Social Control of Alcoholic Beverages. We have affirmed our belief in a vigorous program of continuing education, based on science, illuminated and motivated by Christian ethics leading toward voluntary abstinence and social concern. We affirm our belief in a program leading toward the eventual elimination of the production and the use of alcoholic beverages through public action in the community, in the state, and in the nation.

We believe that education and public action go hand in hand; that the second will work finally only as it is based on the first, and that attention must be given to the second if there is to be any chance of achieving the first.

It seems apparent that any program attempting to eliminate the production and use of alcoholic beverages by legislation on a national scale would be unsuccessful unless supported by an overwhelming majority of the people. The advocacy of immediate national prohibition would seem at this time an unwise strategy in moving toward social control of alcoholic beverages. Preoccupation with national

prohibition as an immediate objective may run the grave danger of aiding liquor to become even more deeply entrenched in American life.

If there is real progress in the care and treatment of alcoholics, in research on alcohol problems and in alcohol education, we believe that it will be increasingly possible for a better informed and voluntarily convinced public to institute and support more effective and stringent control measures over the alcoholic beverage trade.

We believe there are certain measures that can be initiated now or in the near future which can reduce some of the evil effects of alcohol, and which can aid the public in understanding the nature of the alcohol problem. These are not final steps. But if they are not earnestly sought and achieved, there will be slight chance of the securing of better social control.

1. Revision of the alcoholic beverage tax structure. This should be in the direction of encouraging the dilution of proof spirits and fortified wines, through an official tax program providing adequate incentive to distributors for such reduction.

2. Enforcement of laws regarding issuance of liquor licenses and regulations of hours of sale. This should be in the direction of strictly regulating and decreasing the hours when alcoholic beverages may be sold by package and for consumption on the premises.

3. Prevention of sales to minors. This would be chiefly a matter of encouraging the enforcement of existing laws, by a type of personnel concerned with the total welfare of young people.

4. Social use of public revenue from the sale of alcohol. The fact that public revenue from the sale of alcoholic beverages is used for general social purposes misleads the public as to the antisocial nature of the traffic itself. As long as alcoholic beverages are sold, we believe that revenues derived from the trade

should be used solely for alcohol education, for the rehabilitation of alcoholics, and for the relief of the families of alcoholics.

5. Regulation of advertising of alcoholic beverages. We deplore the effect that the advertising of alcoholic beverages is destined to have, especially upon the mind of youth, through its unwarranted and false claims, which go beyond public presentation of brand names, common to all advertising, and aim to invest the use of alcohol with prestige and social desirability. This calls for regulatory practices which, if not voluntarily put into effect by advertising agents, should be imposed by the appropriate organs of our Government.

6. Local or state elimination of traffic in alcoholic beverages. This means what is commonly known as local option, eliminating the trade or traffic in neighborhoods, communities, or states where at least a majority of the citizens agree that such action shall be taken.

7. Indirect control of alcohol consumption through (a) the elimination of social evils such as poor housing, inadequate recreational facilities, and broken homes; (b) a realization of the meaning of life which the Church should inspire through an effective program of evangelism.

Conclusion. The use of alcohol as a beverage is nearly as old as human history. It is also true that beverage alcohol in concentrated form has been available for only three or four centuries, and that the social problem of alcohol in its present most acute form has existed only since that time.

Beverage alcohol is a serious social problem, and cannot be ignored. It is also a complex problem and cannot be solved at once. As Christians we intend to act, taking those specific steps which we believe will lead us most surely toward our goals of voluntary abstinence as well as toward the elimination of the traffic.

Recommendations

We therefore recommend:

1. That General Assembly urge all ministers and members of our Churches to consider social and business drinking practices in the light of Christian principles for both individual and social well-being.

2. That General Assembly call for a major effort in temperance education and action throughout our Churches, and direct the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education to promote a Church-wide program based upon the principles in this report.

3. That General Assembly reaffirm the action of previous General Assemblies in respectfully requesting the President to remove from military establishments all alcoholic beverages except for medicinal purposes.

4. That General Assembly record its support of an early interdenominational program of temperance education and action under the leadership of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

5. That General Assembly instruct the Department of Social Education and Action to prepare, with legal advice, a model bill prohibiting or regulating the advertising of beverage alcohol, a copy of said bill to be sent to the committees on Social Education and Action of all synods and presbyteries. The model bill as prepared should be introduced in the legislatures of the several states by committees on Social Education and Action in co-operation with other Christian agencies, and the passage of the bill insured by the marshaling of an aroused public opinion of the Christian citizens of the various states.

It is further recommended that this Assembly lay upon the hearts of the members of these committees that they have a grave responsibility in preserving the integrity of the Christian home, now ruthlessly invaded by unchristian and anti-social forces.

Sanctuary

The Light Is Still Shining

"The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light:
they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them
hath the light shined."

Call to Worship:

Leader: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

People: "The same was in the beginning with God."

Leader: "All things were made through him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made."

People: "In him was life; and the life was the light of men."

In Unison: "And the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness apprehended it not."

Prayer:

"O Thou who makest the stars, and turnest the shadow of death into the morning: On this day of days we meet to render Thee, our Lord and King, the tribute of our praise; for the new life of the springtime, for the everlasting hopes that rise within the human heart, and for the Gospel which hath brought life and immortality to light. Receive our thanksgiving, reveal Thy presence, and send into our hearts the Spirit of the risen Christ. Amen."¹

Hymn:

"The Morning Light Is Breaking."

Words of Prophecy:

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be.

—*Alfred Tennyson*, in "Locksley Hall."

In the latter days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of Jehovah's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and peoples shall flow unto it. And many nations shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem; and he will judge between many peoples, and will decide concerning strong nations afar off: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of Jehovah of hosts hath spoken it.

—*Micah 4:1-4.*

¹ From *The Book of Common Worship*, Revised, 1946. Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

Progress is

The law of life, man is not Man as yet.

But in completed man begins anew
 A tendency to God. Prognostics told
 Man's near approach; so in man's self arise
 August anticipations, symbols, types
 Of a dim splendor ever on before
 In that eternal circle life pursues.
 For men begin to pass their nature's bound,
 And find new hopes and cares which fast supplant
 Their proper joys and griefs; they grow too great
 For narrow creeds of right and wrong, which fade
 Before the unmeasured thirst for good: while peace
 Rises within them ever more and more.
 Such men are even now upon the earth,
 Serene amid the half-formed creatures round
 Who should be saved by them and joined with them.

—Robert Browning, in "Paracelsus."

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track.
 Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back.
 And these mounts of anguish number how each generation learned
 One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet-hearts hath burned
 Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward: where today the martyr stands,
 On the morrow crouches Judas with the sliver in his hands;
 Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn.
 While the hooting mob of yesterday in the silent awe return
 To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.²

—James Russell Lowell, in "The Present Crisis."

In judgment, therefore, shall not stand such as ungodly are;
 Nor in the assembly of the just shall wicked men appear.
 For why? the way of godly men unto the Lord is known:
 Whereas the way of wicked men shall quite be overthrown.

—Psalm 1.

Hymn:

"Lead, Kindly Light."

Benediction:

"The Lord bless us, and keep us: the Lord make His face to shine upon us, and be gracious unto us: the Lord lift up His countenance upon us, and give us peace. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with us all. Amen."

² By courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Company.

Exterminating World Poverty

(Continued from page 15)

inantly agricultural countries, this is an extremely high figure. It compares with 184 for Europe west of Russia and 41 for the United States. It is estimated that China has a total population of 457,000,000 and a farm population of 331,000,000.

If all the land available for cultivation were divided equally, there would be about one half an acre for each inhabitant and about four fifths of an acre for each farm inhabitant. For all China the size of the average farm is about five acres; but in many provinces—such as Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Chekiang, and others—the average is nearer two acres.

Obviously there is no room for population expansion in China. In other Oriental countries, especially India, Java, and to a lesser extent the Philippines, the situation is similar.

It may be that the industrialization of preindustrial countries today will not closely follow the pattern of the industrialization of Europe and the United States. The decline in the birth rate may keep parallel with the decline in the death rate, if it occurs. Whatever chances there are for this outcome depend first of all upon internal and external peace, and then upon the way industrialization is developed.

Conditions of Success

It would be of small service to mankind if the industrialization of China, for example, merely meant a vast increase in the slums in the big cities and big-scale exploitation of cheap labor. Living standards would be depressed rather than raised if an increase in goods was accompanied by a still greater increase in the number of people to use the goods. The great question is, Can the historical lag between the decline in the death rate and the decline in the birth rate be avoided, or at least shortened?

The answer to this question is pretty much guesswork. If there were a long period of political and economic peace, it should be possible to industrialize new areas much more quickly than was the case with the pioneering efforts of Europe and the United States. Steam, electric, and atomic power can be introduced simultaneously. In agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, communication, and the rest, immediate advantage can be taken of techniques developed elsewhere through long years of painstaking invention and research.

If industrialization is sufficiently rapid, it might raise living standards soon enough to be of real aid in creating a social climate conducive to smaller families. It seems at least possible that a marked and widespread improvement in living conditions—especially disease and famine control—would make having many children seem somewhat less necessary to low-income families. If so, the population pressure would be eased to that extent.

A Complex Balance

Industrialization is extremely complex. It involves far more than the introduction of power machinery and know-how, or even the achievement of a proper balance between agricultural and industrial employment and output. The rise in living standards must be spread as evenly as possible, and not concentrated in relatively small groups of the privileged. This calls for a program of education and social reform which will vary in extent and complexity from one country to another. In not a few cases it calls for a profound change in attitude on the part of the ruling classes.

It is important also that industrialization take careful account of the natural advantages of the country, so that its industries can be built to compete fairly with the industries of other countries. A nation whose industrial development depends upon the peculiar cheapness of its

labor injures both itself and others, as was demonstrated by Japan. This point is of particular interest to the United States, where labor costs are relatively high.

Our own industrial machine depends upon a pay envelope well enough filled to provide the mass buying power necessary to match our mass producing power. Either as taxpayers or as individual investors it is not in our interest to finance foreign industries based upon the exploitation of cheap labor. It is in our interest to finance foreign industries efficient enough to stand on their own feet without resorting to human exploitation. In this way we can help to provide ourselves and others with better customers and sources of supply, and thereby contribute to the expanded world trade which we recognize as so necessary to political and economic peace.

Is the Job Possible?

Political and economic peace is both a cause and a result. It will be extremely difficult, if possible at all, to industrialize new areas without fairly secure peace, both internal and external; and a properly balanced industrialization is, without doubt, one of the major roads to peace. But even granted the not yet attained boon of peace, one cannot expect millions of illiterate peasants suddenly to become skilled industrial workers, adept in the art of democratic organization. One cannot expect whole cultures, built upon the foundations of centuries, quickly to accept the idea that their religious teachings and customs must be revised to encourage a decline in the birth rate. These things can be accelerated by education and training, but they still take time.

Furthermore, how do we know that as

the power of industry is introduced, it will not fall into the hands of political and military adventurers intent upon future aggression? An industrial machine built to a large extent for military "eventualities" impedes the raising of living standards and, because of the resulting unrest, makes the "eventualities" all the more likely.

But in spite of the uncertainties, the risks, and the complexities, we are very definitely in the game and shall have to play it as best we can. Other countries will industrialize whether we help them or whether we do not help them. Even if we wanted to, we could not stop them. By helping them we cannot make them into our image; but by making the road smoother, and by using our very considerable material influence, we have a good chance to promote world co-operation and to oppose rather effectively the extremes of nationalism.

In addition to our own influence toward co-operation, we have the machinery of the United Nations. It is now the world's job to learn how to use that machinery fairly and effectively; and let us not forget that this will be even more difficult than creating the machinery in the first place. The attack upon world poverty through industrializing new areas is not a simple one. A great deal depends upon the real intentions and capabilities of the men at the controls. Their task is to readjust much of the world economy, while avoiding the dangers of sweated labor, population explosions, and the misuse of industrial power for military purposes. Under present world conditions they may not succeed. It is of paramount interest to all of us to see that world conditions change so that they can succeed.

Give me liberty to know, to think, to believe, and to utter freely, according to conscience above all other liberties.

—John Milton.

About Books

The Challenge of Our Culture, edited by Clarence Tucker Craig. Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

This is the first of five volumes in the Interseminary Series, which represents a combination of group thinking and individual effort by some of the outstanding professors in the theological seminaries of the major denominations throughout the country.

The purpose of the series is threefold: (a) to diagnose the contemporary world in which the Church exists and to outline its characteristics; (b) to set forth the claims of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to demonstrate its adequacy for such a world; and (c) to challenge the Church to be big enough to meet the demands of the world.

This first volume is an analysis of the world in which the Church exists. It begins with an introductory statement by the editor, Methodist Clarence Tucker Craig, of the Yale Divinity School. Presbyterian Joseph Haroutunian, of McCormick Theological Seminary, then presents a study of the machine age, which is followed by a discussion on power concepts in the postwar world by Professor Elmer J. F. Arndt, of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Congregationalists Buell G. Gallagher, Walter M. Horton, and Amos N. Wilder then set forth the problems of race, personal maladjustment, and sociological frustration. The volume closes with Presbyterian James H. Nichols' startling discussion of "Secularism in the Church."

This is one of the most profound yet highly readable books that has been published in many a day. It is disturbing in its revelations, yet not pessimistic in its conclusions. It points with definite certainty to the decay of modern culture, but it finds the antidote in the relevancy

of the Gospel of Jesus Christ for this hour. It should stir all thinking people out of their complacency and at the same time give them a definite determination to gird their loins for the days ahead.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

The Church and Organized Movements, edited by Randolph Crump Miller. Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

This is the second volume in the new Interseminary Series, a book that is most provocative and stimulating. Bringing into focus many of the groups that confront modern people, such as those dealing with secular radicalism, native fascism, welfare work, education, and the cults, its authors not only show how these organizations and forces compete with the Churches for the time and money of its members, but, more importantly, they show how the movements may be related to the task of the ongoing Church, "a society within a society."

Most of the writers are members of the Pacific Coast Theological Group and are practically all professors in West Coast seminaries. A notable exception is Dr. Dwight C. Smith, pastor of the Federated Churches of Olympia, Washington, whose chapter on "The Church and Organized Fraternalism" is one of the most unique studies to appear within the pages of any book in a long time. Basing his findings on an extensive survey in his own community, Dr. Smith discovers that modern service clubs and lodges are furnishing their members with fellowship, service projects, world-wide interest, and other goals that historically have been functions of the Christian Church. The task of the Church, he finds, should not be to condemn these movements, but, rather, to be stimulated by them to rediscover those qualities in its historic mission that it has neglected

and to make use of them for its greater effectiveness.

On the whole, the book continues the high standards set forth in the first volume of the series and should be widely read by laymen as well as by the clergy.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Democratic Education, by Benjamin Fine. The Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$2.50.

Benjamin Fine, educational editor of *The New York Times*, is well qualified to write this description and evaluation of liberal education in the United States, at the beginning of the current G.I. invasion of our colleges. Although he employs in his study the result of a survey of five thousand veterans and a large number of high-school graduates and their parents, his book is largely occupied with an analysis of what he calls the two prevailing philosophies of education. These are represented on the one hand by the aristocratic wing (St. John's and the University of Chicago) which eschews vocational training and the elective system, and emphasizes the training of the intellect through a study of our cultural heritage; and the democratic wing (land-grant colleges and state universities) which provides for all comers an education closely related to the techniques of present-day living.

Between these two philosophies lie the main-stem traditional colleges, which, in one way or another, are attempting to correlate culture and vocation; and the progressive wing (Bennington, Antioch, Sarah Lawrence, etc.), which advocates freedom and stresses emotional adjustment, psychological maturity and general development, as well as mental growth.

The author finds that veterans as a whole are seeking an education that will help them in their everyday living. His poll reveals that eighty-five per cent of American parents want their children to go to college, and that most of them would

combine general culture with vocational training, many thinking that college education should be open to all at state expense.

College authorities today believe that in the curriculum of tomorrow there will be a better balance than at present between science and the humanities, between liberal education and vocational training.

The author himself concludes that President Hutchins and the aristocratic wing offer little hope for the future since their theories would establish a caste system of education.

He sees in the University of Minnesota a model of the typical democratic college of the future. In that institution a General College offers to all comers a two-year program of nonspecialized and nonvocational education intended to provide a common basis for normal human living in a free society, after which specialization may or may not be pursued.

By "democratic education" the author means a system of higher education that would be open to all, and that would provide (a) a broad understanding of the organization and functioning of modern society; (b) an introduction to the natural world and man's place in it; (c) an appreciation of man's cultural heritage; and (d) a mastery of techniques necessary to scholarly achievement, this latter to be acquired during the final two years of that education.

WILLIS CHURCH LAMOTT

Christian Faith and My Job, by Alexander Miller. Association Press. \$1.00.

Anyone actively concerned with the social applications of Christianity in recent years has surely had a real sense of frustration in that much of what we have done has seemed to deal only with public meetings, the proclamation of Christian ideals, and perhaps certain forms of political action by groups under Church leadership. Meantime, many of us have felt that we were touching all too lightly

the actual practice of our fellow Christians in those day-to-day decisions in shop or bank or office or farm which were really determining the character of our modern society.

Christian Faith and My Job is a small, incisive, inspiring manual which helps a Christian in any occupation to see that he is responsible for Christianizing the social order as part of his divine vocation in connection with his regular daily work.

The book opens with the recognition that the necessities of work in contemporary society seem to bring many Christian people into open conflict with Christian principles, and notes various forms of escape from this intolerable dilemma. It then states by way of contrast the Reformation viewpoint of the possibility of a divine vocation being found by everyone in his daily work.

The author lays the foundation for defending this Reformation view by saying that work is to be done, not because it gives scope for craftsmanship or because it has some value in itself, but because it is socially necessary and because it makes suitable leisure possible. Thus whether it is cobbling shoes and preaching; operating bank, farm, or business; and working on an assembly line are, practically speaking, all equally necessary to society, and so stand on the same level before God.

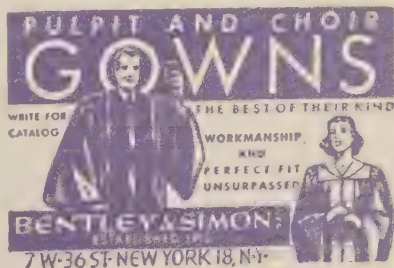
Elaborating his doctrine further, Mr. Miller says that the first requirement for consideration of work as a Christian vocation is to do the job well according to its present character, provided that the work is not socially harmful in primary intention. After that, and only because he has done that, the Christian has the right and duty to see to it that the duties of his occupation are related to social needs in the most useful way. Thus no occupation in its present conventional form is seen as the whole of a Christian vocation. We discharge our divine vocation only as, in

addition to doing the job well in its present form, we are actively concerned to work out the organization of society to see that the social function to be performed through the occupation is efficiently and justly carried out.

Two outcomes of this viewpoint that affect the life of the Church and the individual Christian are particularly worthy of note: (a) Churches ideally should include in their programs opportunities for those engaged in similar occupations to sit down together and consider how they may build Christian principles into the conduct of those occupations both on the job and through social and political action; (b) it is seen to be necessary that there be a type of social fellowship within the Christian community other than those we now have. This would be a fellowship in which there is the sharing of an economic discipline.

Mr. Miller repudiates the view that we should be satisfied with the economic inequalities that now attach to various occupations, and notes that it is possible to belong to a fellowship or group in which some form of economic sharing is the basis of its common life—either in the extreme form of a “common purse” or by a “more loosely knit form of discipline, in which the members not only continue to hold property but also accept a common economic rule of life.”

JAMES GOLDEN MILLER



Toward Certainty

ROBERT H. GEARHART, Jr.

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FAITH

SOLVES TODAY'S

PROBLEMS



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By James Reid

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UNDERSTANDING THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

By Georgia Harkness

"Everywhere are persons," says Dr. Harkness, "some who are Christians, others interested inquirers—who would seriously like to know what a Christian may believe about God, and Christ, and prayer, and sin, and suffering, and salvation, and death, and destiny. It is for these that this book is written." Directed to the man in the pew, it deals with the great body of convictions common to all Christians; and above all, simple Christian faith in its personal and world-wide implications. **\$1.75**

At All Bookstores

ABINGDON-COKESBURY

FAO Moves Toward a World Food Program

*By Charles E. Rogers **

IF THE world is to be freed from the disgrace of perpetual hunger among millions of its population and from periodic famines, something more than collecting and disseminating statistical and other information is needed.

That idea has animated the program of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations since its founding in the fall of 1945.

FAO had been in existence less than half a year when its Director General, Sir John Boyd Orr, initiated proposals that indicated that this definitely was to be a functional as well as a specialized research international agency. It has continued to initiate programs and to press for action toward the achievement of its ideals—food on a health standard for the people of the world, prosperity and stability for an expanding agriculture.

A year ago, in May, 1946, when it became clear that the postwar food shortage would last beyond the 1946 harvest, FAO called a meeting in Washington on urgent food problems.

Taking account "of the needs of others," the nations represented at the meeting decided upon joint action to allocate exportable food sur-

pluses in short supply. They set up the International Emergency Food Council to administer the program, its secretariat to be financed by FAO. The organization, now having thirty-one member Governments, will continue as long as the food emergency lasts.

But the Washington meeting, foreseeing a time when there would be unsalable surpluses of food as well as hungry people, asked FAO to study the long-range problem of preventing both shortages and surpluses. It suggested that the director general of FAO present proposals for a world food program to the next FAO conference.

This Sir John Orr did at the Copenhagen conference in September last year. The principles back of his proposals for a World Food Board met with enthusiastic approval. It was called Operation Joseph because one of its provisions was a reserve granary for famine relief.

Under this plan, proposals were put forward for the establishment of a World Food Board with funds and authority to promote concrete measures on a world scale for an orderly development and expansion of agriculture to be directed toward providing sufficient food for all peoples, stabilizing prices on the international market at levels fair to

* Member of the staff of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Washington, D.C.

producers and consumers, and building up a world reserve of food against any drought or disaster threatening famine. The proposals, recognizing that an expanding world economy would be necessary to support agricultural development, recommended the industrial development of so-called backward areas.

What happened to the Orr plan after its hearty acceptance last September at Copenhagen? Its objectives were endorsed by the conference, and a Preparatory Commission was set up to make recommendations for methods of attaining them.

The 17-nation Commission convened in Washington in October, and in January it issued an 84-page report. This was described by the Commission's independent chairman, Lord Bruce, of Melbourne, as "the most far-reaching examination of the world's economic situation that has so far been made by representatives of Governments."

The recommendations of the report of the FAO Preparatory Commission on World Food Proposals preserve the substance of the Orr plan. It does not support the Orr method. Instead of a World Food Board, with funds and authority for setting up international food reserves, it recommends action by Governments through an advisory World Food Council. The Commission's recommendations were as far as those Government representatives were willing to go in the direction of

long-term international management of food. Sir John Orr himself is not dissatisfied. He is optimistic. He says:

"Had Governments been able to agree to more, we might have been able to move farther and faster. But the important thing is that a practical beginning has been made. If Governments will carry out what the Preparatory Commission recommends, we shall be on the road to realizing, in the daily lives of the people of both town and country, the ideals of enough food for all and prosperity and stability for agriculture."

What in substance does the Commission's report recommend that Governments do?

The Commission's assignment was to work out specific recommendations for achieving the objectives of the Orr plan:

1. To develop and organize the production, distribution, and utilization of food to provide diets on a health standard for the people of all countries.

2. To stabilize agricultural prices at levels fair to producers and consumers alike.

The first objective will require large increases in consumption and production. The Commission recommended that FAO sponsor an annual review of national agricultural and nutritional programs, looking toward their co-ordination internationally.

Expansion of industry in undevel-

oped countries is recommended for the purpose of increasing purchasing power and providing jobs for excess farm populations. This calls for national and international efforts to finance industrial development.

The Commission faced up to the second objective—that of stabilizing agricultural prices—with recommendations that to some seemed conservative or even timid, to others rather extreme. But the recommendations resulted from free and full discussion by representatives of all the seventeen nations represented. Decisions were arrived at through the democratic process, and in the end all delegations agreed to the Commission's recommendations.

There was a parallel between the situation today and that after the First World War which the Commission recognized. After both wars, in highly developed countries agricultural and industrial production had been greatly expanded to meet the requirements of war. For some time after the end of fighting the needs of rehabilitation, restocking, and re-equipping kept demand at a high level.

But after World War I, as recovery proceeded, these needs were filled and surpluses began to accumulate. There was not enough purchasing power to absorb the output of high-producing countries. Tariffs, import quotas, and currency restrictions imposed by Governments to protect their national economy contributed

to the 1929 crisis and the following economic depression.

During the 1930's solutions were sought through restricting production. Yet by 1937 there were still millions of unemployed in industrial countries, and half the people of the world still did not have enough food to be nourished decently.

The Commission rejected the proposition that restriction must be the first and chief supporting pillar in a system of price stabilization. Readjustment first has to be sought in expansion of consumption. The Commission then addressed itself to the objective of providing for the stabilization of agricultural prices at levels fair to producers and consumers alike.

It concluded that international agreement governing world trade in agricultural commodities can contribute powerfully to price stabilization to provide a foundation of confidence upon which producers can embark on programs of expanding production. About three fourths of the document are devoted to aspects of this problem.

If international commodity agreements can serve to enlarge consumption, it is generally agreed they will help to avoid the recurrence of the depression-born "poverty in the midst of plenty," that mark of Cain of the modern world economy.

Commodity agreement techniques have a jargon best expressed in lay-

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Maturity in Labor Relations

*By Alfred Hoffmann **

HOW is the weather in the United States this morning?" Would you phrase such a question with any thought that you could get an intelligent answer? It is hardly likely. Yet thousands of people are doing exactly that in respect to the field of labor-management relations, and the answer with which they come up is, if anything, a pitiful thing to behold.

Labor-management relationships are as varied as local weather reports. Sound labor relations are the end product of making collective bargaining work well. Collective bargaining is in every state of development from the precrawling infant state to that of complete maturity in which sound industrial statesmanship is being displayed by both labor and management.

The appraiser of the current scene who wants an intelligent answer will ask: "Can and does collective bargaining work? Where and how? Where have unions and employers reached maturity in their relationships? Are they resolving their differences in a civilized and decent manner? Why and how?"

Part of the answer can be found in the present and past history of labor relations in the organized section of

the hosiery industry, where a long history of collective-bargaining relationships exists and where maturity in labor relations has been achieved.

Formal collective-bargaining relationships date back about thirty-four years, during which period just about every conceivable economic condition has had to be met jointly by the employers and the union. About 90 per cent of all agreements written in the industry are of two years' duration, and all agreements provide arbitration machinery for the adjudication of unresolved grievances and problems.

Collective bargaining in the industry is conducted principally through three associations of employers. These are the Full Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers of America, Inc., which is the largest and is staffed by technical experts; the Keystone Manufacturers Association, with employer membership limited to Berks County, Pennsylvania; and the Guild Hosiery Conference, an association of dyers and finishers of hosiery, whose membership covers about half of that section of the industry. A large number of agreements are negotiated directly with independent employers, but patterned in content and in labor cost after the association agreements.

* First Vice-President, American Federation of Hosiery Workers, CIO, and member of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

The most important of the association agreements is the one negotiated with the Full Fashioned Manufacturers association, since this is the master agreement for the industry and covers some of the most important plants from Massachusetts to California. It is commonly identified as the National Labor Agreement of the industry and provides uniform terms and uniform piece rates, irrespective of the location of the individual plant.

Industry-wide arbitration was established under the National Labor Agreement in 1929 for the first time in the history of American labor relations. The union shop and the checkoff of union dues were also established in the same year. A great deal of responsibility has been accepted by both the employer and the union in the development of labor relations under this agreement since its inception seventeen years ago.

The employers and the union have met the full impact of some of the most serious economic crises during the life of the National Labor Agreement. Wage reductions of from 45 to 55 per cent were voluntarily accepted by the union during the depression years to save jobs and a completely prostrated industry. Both wage increases and reductions have taken place since then.

The National Labor Agreement has always banned strikes and demonstrations on the part of the union, and lockouts and irresponsible dis-

charge on the part of the employer. Responsibility in thought and action has been developed in this respect, equally on both sides.

Proper grievance machinery has always been provided. Grievances that cannot be settled between plant management and local shop committees reach a third step in processing which brings the employers' association and national union into the picture prior to submission for final decision in arbitration. The arbitrator, his staff and office, are maintained on a full-time basis, paid for equally by the national union and association.

Some 5,000 decisions have been rendered by the successive arbitrators of the industry since 1929. Some of these decisions have codified much of the common law, custom, and tradition of the industry; many of them have dealt with technical and technological change, the measurement of facts, establishment of rates of pay for new jobs or processes. They actually constitute a code over and beyond the terms of the written agreement itself. The principles established must be respected by succeeding arbitrators in the formation of their decisions. Much of the maturity of the industry as represented in its five-foot shelf of arbitrators' decisions must be credited to Dr. Paul Abelson, first arbitrator for the industry, and to Dr. George W. Taylor, University of Pennsylvania, the second arbitrator for the industry

serving during the most trying period of the industry's existence.

Only the very unusual discharge case ever reaches arbitration today, and practically no questions of managements' rights or union rights are ever in dispute. These procedures were clarified in full by 1932. Full responsibility for overt acts is insured to both the employer and the union through the arbitration machinery. Violations of contract are arbitrable, and arbitration decisions are enforceable through court action in virtually every state in which contract is effective. Illegal stoppages have been handled by the arbitrator, with the proper assessment of damages payable to the employer, or payable to charity. Damage actions against the employers have been upheld by the arbitrator and collected for distribution to the union members.

The union currently is suing one employer in a Pennsylvania state court for failure to carry out an arbitration award, in preference to striking the affected plant as is allowed under the contract.

A second important feature of the National Labor Agreement is the machinery provided for wage revision upward or downward during the life of the two-year agreement. Each party selects a party representative under the wage re-opening clause and the two party representatives select a third impartial person as referee. Hearings are held, and the

decision of the wage tribunal is final and binding upon the parties when two members of the tribunal have affixed their signatures.

Seniority and promotion are no longer a part of national negotiation, under the 1945-1947 agreement. The parties have turned these problems back to the local unions and individual employers, so that the varying conditions in each individual plant and locality can be met on a local basis. Underlying most of these local understandings, however, is the old National Labor Agreement principle that "ability being equal, seniority shall prevail." This concept governed the industry for some fifteen years. Under this broad language considerable detail and refinement for proper merit rating and promotion procedures had to be developed from plant to plant.

No problem exists in the industry in respect to productivity, as all production operations are on an individual piece-rate basis. Other protective clauses in the agreement are more or less standard in their concept when compared to agreements in other industries, such as vacations with pay, holidays, protection against pay losses from causes beyond the control of the worker, and so forth.

Unique in the hosiery agreements, however, is the health-insurance feature. Employers contribute two per cent of total pay roll for health-insurance purposes. The insurance is

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Only Then Shall We Find Courage

By Albert Einstein *

In an interview with Michael Amrine, which first appeared in The New York Times Magazine of June 23, 1946. Used with permission.

MANY persons have inquired concerning a recent message of mine that "a new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive and move to higher levels."

Often in evolutionary processes a species must adapt to new conditions in order to survive. Today the atomic bomb has altered profoundly the nature of the world as we know it, and the human race consequently finds itself in a new habitat to which it must adapt its thinking.

In the light of new knowledge, a world authority and an eventual world state are not just desirable in the name of brotherhood; they are necessary for survival. In previous ages a nation's life and culture could be protected to some extent by the growth of armies in national competition. Today we must abandon competition and secure co-operation. This must be the central fact in all our considerations of international affairs; otherwise we face certain disaster. Past thinking and methods did not prevent world wars. Future thinking must prevent wars.

Modern war, the bomb, and other discoveries present us with revolu-

tionary circumstances. Never before was it possible for one nation to make war on another without sending armies across borders. Now with rockets and atomic bombs no center of population on the earth's surface is secure from surprise destruction in a single attack.

America has a temporary superiority in armament, but it is certain that we have no lasting secret. What nature tells one group of men, it will tell in time to any group interested and patient enough in asking the questions. But our temporary superiority gives this nation the tremendous responsibility of leading mankind's effort to surmount the crisis.

Being an ingenious people, Americans find it hard to believe there is no foreseeable defense against atomic bombs. But this is a basic fact. Scientists do not even know of any field which promises us any hope of adequate defense. The military-minded cling to old methods of thinking, and one Army department has been surveying possibilities of going underground, and in wartime placing factories in places like Mammoth Cave. Others speak of dispersing our population centers into "linear" or "ribbon" cities.

Reasonable men with these new

* Chairman, Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Inc., 90 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

facts to consider refuse to contemplate a future in which our culture would attempt to survive in ribbons or in underground tombs. Neither is there reassurance in proposals to keep a hundred thousand men alert along the coasts scanning the sky with radar. There is no radar defense against the V-2, and should a "defense" be developed after years of research, it is not humanly possible for any defense to be perfect. Should one rocket with atomic warhead strike Minneapolis, that city would look almost exactly like Nagasaki. Rifle bullets kill men, but atomic bombs kill cities. A tank is a defense against a bullet but there is no defense in science against the weapon that can destroy civilization.

Our defense is not in armaments, nor in science, nor in going underground. Our defense is in law and order.

Henceforth, every nation's foreign policy must be judged at every point by one consideration: does it lead us to a world of law and order, or does it lead us back toward anarchy and death? I do not believe that we can prepare for war and at the same time prepare for a world community. When humanity holds in its hand the weapon with which it can commit suicide, I believe that to put more power into the gun is to increase the probability of disaster.

Remembering that our main consideration is to avoid this disaster, let us briefly consider international

relations in the world today, and start with America. The war which began with Germany using weapons of unprecedented frightfulness against women and children ended with the United States using a supreme weapon killing thousands at one blow.

Many persons in other countries now look on America with great suspicion, not only for the bomb but because they fear this country will become imperialistic.

Others might not fear Americans if they knew us as we know one another, honest and sober and neighbors. But in other countries they know that a sober nation can become drunk with victory. If Germany had not won a victory in 1870, what tragedy for the human race might have been averted!

We are still making bombs, and the bombs are making hate and suspicion. We are keeping secrets, and secrets breed distrust. I do not say we should now turn the secret of the bomb loose in the world, but are we ardently seeking a world in which there will be no need for bombs or secrets, a world in which science and men will be free?

While we distrust Russia's secrecy and she distrusts ours, we walk together to certain doom.

The basic principles of the Acheson-Lilienthal Report are scientifically sound and technically ingenious, but as Mr. Baruch wisely

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The Church and Economic Life

We present herewith a report by Cameron P. Hall, Secretary of the Department on the Church and Economic Life (formerly the Industrial Relations Division) of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life convened by the Federal Council, February 18-20, 1947, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

WE ACCEPT as part of the task of the Christian Church the obligation to deal openly and frankly with controversial matters." This statement from the report of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life was voted for in large measure by laymen who made up two thirds of the 343 delegates and for three days had been practicing what they here recommend.

The conference demonstrated the inclusiveness of the term "layman": industrialist and labor leader, banker and consumer co-operator, economist and farm leader, Congressman and university professor. The delegates had all been appointed by Church bodies, mainly the denominations. Special effort had been made to send Church people who carry responsibilities in the wide range of economic life: Within one denominational delegation, for example, there were included the vice-president of Westinghouse Electric Corporation, the educational director of the United Automobile Workers Union (UAW-CIO), the president of the American Institute of Cooperation, a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, and

the vice-president of Ohio State University. Underlying the conference was the conviction that in formulating a message and program on economic life, the Churches need the help of their members with multiple economic backgrounds and interests.

For the first two days the delegates were divided into three equal-sized sections; the last day they met together to adopt the report. That the Churches have a responsibility toward economic life is emphatically affirmed throughout the report. Christianity is held to be a matter of conscience as well as of faith. The first topic that each section took up dealt with the query, "What are the crucial issues in economic life about which the Churches should be most concerned?" It listed eleven of these problems and placed them before the Churches as calling for immediate study.

Typical of the position which the conference took toward the obligation that the Churches have toward these problems is the following: "The Christian conscience in America confronts these issues with certain obligations growing out of the belief in the brotherhood of man, but with continuing perplexities that

have yet to be resolved." The problems that the delegates agreed to be of vital concern are as follows:

1. Can our economy so utilize its resources as to assure economic stability and progress and at the same time preserve and enlarge the essential liberties of man?

2. How can full production, full employment, and equitable distribution of the national income be achieved and maintained?

3. To what extent has concentration of ownership and control brought beneficial or harmful effects to public welfare?

4. What role should Government play in our economic life?

5. What role should voluntary economic groups—business, labor, agriculture, finance, consumers, *et al.*—play in our economic order?

6. Upon what basis can the Church concern itself constructively with the problems of wages, profits, and prices?

7. How can industrial relations be made more harmonious, and the Church use its influence most effectively toward this attainment?

8. How can Government be used to provide social security, without thereby undermining the assumption of responsibility by individuals and groups of individuals?

9. How can the Church most effectively assist in solving agricultural problems?

10. What should be the economic relationships of the United States to

other nations in the light of its uniquely influential economic position?

11. How can our national economy develop and use atomic power for the best interests of all people?

The sections next examined more closely the nature and outreach of the responsibility of the Churches. In Part Two of the report there is a list of seven "Affirmations of the Christian Faith," followed by six "General Principles and Economic Factors." Efforts were made to have the conference denounce the closed shop, but without effect. Economic factors treated include work, property, wages, profits, prices, and economic organizations. Then follow twelve "specific responsibilities" resting upon the Churches.

Perhaps in Part Two is the beginning, and it is nothing more than that, of what these times desperately need—a middle ground between two extremes. This middle ground is not gained by trying to dilute both sides in some kind of neutral compromise, but rather in coming upon a deeper level of unity. When convictions in economic life are based chiefly upon human considerations, they tend to divide men into sharply opposing camps. But when one approaches economic interests, as farmer or businessman or employee, from the perspective of the Kingdom of God, one's views cannot but take on an entirely different dimension.

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"Do Unto Others"

*By Hazel G. Ormsbee **

SPRING is almost here. It may really have arrived by the time you read this article. Spring means Easter and flowers to you and to me. It means new life all about us. This anticipation made the title of a March magazine article come with a shock. It was "Spring Comes to Displaced Persons."¹ Thoughts turned from gardens in the United States to camps in Germany. What would spring be like in a displaced persons camp!

In the first place there is confinement. There is none of our precious liberty of movement. There is a lack of ordinary decencies. There is little to do. Above, over, and under everything else there is uncertainty and terrifying insecurity.

Who are these displaced persons? The adjectives describing them vary according to the occupation of the person who is talking or writing about them. President Truman calls them the "homeless and suffering." Earl Harrison, former U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, declares them to be "human lives that are at a complete standstill or drifting backward." Professor Chamberlain, of Columbia University, describes them as "strangers in a strange land."

A few years ago many of these displaced persons were not too different from you or me. But in these few years they have known hunger and want, concentration camps and forced labor. Those who have survived are the remnants of families who have suffered deeply from persecution and fear.

Since V-E Day 11,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated. There now remains the "hard core" of some 850,000 persons who, for one reason or another, find repatriation impossible. These are Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Yugoslavs, and others, many of whom fear to go back home in view of the present political situations in their countries.

On this point the United Nations has made a clear statement in a resolution passed on February 12, 1946, as follows: "No refugees or displaced persons who have finally and definitely in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of the facts including adequate information from the Governments of their countries of origin, expressed valid objections to returning to their countries of origin and who do not come within the provisions of paragraph (d) shall be compelled to return to their country of origin."

Two years after the war, then, we

* Executive Secretary, Displaced Persons Department of Church World Service, Inc., 37 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

¹ "Spring Comes to Displaced Persons," by Alice Arnold. March, 1947. The Woman's Press.

have this group, half of whom are women and children, still confined in detention camps in the American zone in Germany under the control of the Army of the United States. UNRRA has been of great assistance to them in this two-year period, but UNRRA will go out of existence on June 30, 1947. It is hoped that the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations will assume responsibility at that time. Its budget will be considerably lower than the UNRRA budget, however, and has not yet been underwritten by the minimum number of nations necessary to bring it into being. Voluntary agencies concerned with the fate of the displaced persons must supplement in every way possible the work of IRO. These are of many kinds and their work has been recognized as most important in the camps. All of them, however, are anxious to get the displaced persons out of the camps and resettled on a permanent basis.

The question is, therefore, how many of these persons can be resettled and in which countries, and, specifically, how many will the United States admit. A Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons has been formed with headquarters in New York City and subcommittees throughout the country whose purpose it is to spread accurate information on the international problem and to correct inaccurate information. One of the widely spread inaccuracies is in regard to the pro-

portion of Jewish people in the group. Twenty per cent only are Jews; 80 per cent, Christians of various faiths. Leaflets and pamphlets can be secured through the office of the Citizens' Committee at 39 East 36th Street or through Church World Service. The aim is to secure temporary legislation which will permit 400,000 displaced persons to enter the United States during a period of four years, these persons to be subject to all the safeguards at present in operation under the United States military authorities and the Immigration Service, to prevent undesirables from entering the country.

Suppose Congress passes a law like this—what is the responsibility of the Protestant and Orthodox Churches toward the homeless people thus admitted? So far, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant agencies like the Catholic War Refugee Service, the Jewish United Service for New Americans, and the Protestant and Orthodox Church World Service have been the agencies especially concerned about the responsibility of religious bodies for the reception of the refugees. Under the corporate affidavits of these and other agencies, a few displaced persons have entered the country in accordance with existing quota regulations during the past year through President Truman's directive of December, 1945. This number, however, amounts to little over 5,000 instead of the 39,000 expected.

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The Battle of Food Is Not Over

By Harold Weston *

Food for Freedom was created as a temporary citizens' committee to develop national food policies that would help to win the war and secure a democratic and lasting peace. Fully aware that the need for such an organization still exists, Food for Freedom is disbanding. The war emergency period for which it was organized is over, but it sincerely hopes that the many civic and religious organizations that co-operated with it during the past four years will intensify their efforts to maintain national food policies for the betterment of mankind.

A FEW weeks ago President Truman warned Americans that "the battle of food is by no means over." He had just received his Cabinet's committee report on post-UNRRA food needs and the latest Hoover report, which stressed "the tragic conditions of hunger under which many millions of people all over the world are still living."

Food is still the bottleneck to peace. People who helplessly watched their children become emaciated from starvation less than a year ago and who themselves still have inadequate food can be expected to react with violence to dwindling food supplies. Bread rations in all probability will have to be cut during the next few months in several European countries. This will breed resentment and slow down recovery. The use of food, who gets it, and under what conditions, attach to all national food policies international significance of both a political and moral nature. Those implications cannot be escaped whether the food

is sold through commercial channels or given as relief. Food and relief supplies inevitably strengthen existing Governments whatever conditions are imposed as to equitable distribution. Therefore every conscientious person should take an interest in national food and relief policies. Their organizations should assess current legislation or Administration policies and inform their membership at crucial times.

Unfortunately the world food situation today is far less favorable than we had every reason to hope it would be nearly two years after V-E Day. This is due in considerable measure to the unprecedented droughts which so seriously affected agricultural production throughout the major food supplying areas of the world with the exception of North America. It is, however, also due to the depletion of soil fertility, agricultural equipment, and human energy drained off by the war. Food production in Europe has been further retarded by the coldest winter in fifty years. The world food situation this year is only just a little better than

* Executive Director, Food for Freedom, Washington, D. C.

last year. All reports confirm the prospects that the same basic shortages will continue through the 1947-1948 period.

After World War I, European agriculture took ten years to recover. The destruction caused during World War II was infinitely greater, particularly to livestock, draft animals, and farm equipment, and it extended throughout the Far East. It is probable that it will now take at least fifteen to twenty years for European agriculture to be completely restored. Recovery in the Far East depends on political conditions impossible to predict.

Because we are the one great center of industrial production undamaged by the war and in fact have expanded our production 50 per cent since pre-war, the nations of the world look to America for material of every kind. Although our farmers have been unable to get as much as they desired of new farm machinery, fertilizer, and other items, they have fared fully ten times better than the farmers in the war-impooverished countries. Both United States and Canadian farmers have kept up a magnificent job of expanded production, and peace-loving peoples throughout the world owe them deepest gratitude. It is reported that this year the U. S. wheat acreage will exceed by approximately 5,000,000 acres the 71,720,000 acres requested by the Department of Agriculture. The Department's drive for increased

flaxseed plantings to ease the serious world shortage in fats and oils has been successful and represents a 70 per cent increase over last year's total. Our all-time record wheat harvest of last year, at present prospects, will be surpassed by 50,000,000 bushels this year. Crops of this size will enable the United States to continue grain exports until the 1948 harvest at this season's record rate.

The United States has provided its full share to help other nations through the export of its food. This was done at first through lend-lease, then through civilian feeding by the military, and subsequently through UNRRA. But the bulk of the food we have exported has been paid for by importing nations. As a result of great efforts last spring, grain from the United States helped to prevent mass famine which threatened to decimate several countries both in Europe and the Far East. Without the continued large-scale shipment of U. S. grain during the present crop year, the people in several countries would again be facing starvation at the present time. In the northern provinces of Rumania, actual mass starvation today is being prevented by emergency shipment of U. S. food after the Rumanian Government finally agreed that the food would be distributed without discrimination and under U. S. supervision.

Our Government has turned down the urgent request of Yugoslavia for further American food because that

country could have provided this year enough food for its population from its own supply if its food resources had been more carefully conserved and more equitably distributed. Yugoslavia exported grain in 1946 to Rumania and Albania prior to elections in those countries.

During the period between the writing of this article and its publication the Congress of the United States will have had to make decisions of historical importance in this field. The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the bill for \$350 million relief after UNRRA stops on July first to help Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and China. The terms of the \$400 million special assistance to Greece and Turkey will have also been decided. The appropriation of substantial sums will be asked of Congress by the military for essential civilian relief needs in Germany, Japan, and Korea. In addition, the military is expected to request a grant of \$600 million, spread over three years, for rehabilitating transportation and industry in the American Zone in southern Korea. The Export-Import Bank is holding \$500 million for a possible loan to China.

President Truman is expected to ask Congress very shortly for \$100 million as the U. S. share for the International Children's Emergency Fund. Mr. Hoover's report emphasized that the class in Europe most afflicted by food shortages were chil-

dren from six to fourteen (children up to six getting special rations). These children face imminent physical and moral disintegration unless they receive more protective foods, proteins, and dairy products, which the United States should be able to spare. They also have urgent need for cod-liver oil which, if it can be financed adequately, could be supplied principally by Norway. One of the best investments we can make toward future peace is to give these children enough physical nourishment to develop healthy bodies and stable minds.

In addition to the large-scale assistance through Governmental means, it is of paramount importance that the voluntary American aid contributed through the existing relief agencies should continue to receive the maximum of support. These agencies, working in co-operation with UNRRA, have already accomplished much that Governmental methods cannot undertake. They will continue to be for several years to come one of the direct ways in which spiritual aid as well as material assistance can be given to the victims of the war.

There is one measure requested by the President which, in this writer's opinion, is of very special importance and which has received little public attention or support. Furthermore, it is being opposed by certain segments of American industry for profit-seeking motives. I refer to the limited

extension of some of the President's wartime controls. A bill about this, H. R. 1983, is before Congress. Hearings have already been held by the Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate. One of its major features is the one year extension of import and export controls over certain supplies inadequate to meet world needs.

"Uncontrolled exports of food products," the President points out, "would result in a marked increase in the already substantial burden of living costs borne by the American people." Mr. Truman called attention to the serious international significance of the distribution of our country's exports. "If we retain the ability to channel commercial exports of critically scarce materials, we can permit export of these products to countries whose need is greatest while still protecting the United States from excessive export drains."

An interesting example of how this system works is the following: The United States on March 20, 1947, used its export license procedure to restrict further movement of U. S. flour to the other American republics, some South Pacific islands, and some parts of Africa, where certain countries apparently were "stocking up." This step was taken in order to channel full flour allocations to needy Europe during May and June. This curtailing of export should help to keep down the recent excessive wheat prices by removing some of the export pressure.

The United States is a member of the International Emergency Food Council, which is the international agency with authority to recommend allocations of scarce foods. The increasing willingness of member nations to forego supplies desired by their citizens to meet more urgent needs elsewhere has been one of the most encouraging evidences of international co-operation since the war. Allocation by this Council covers only the food any nation is willing to export. For this system to be effective, import of some of these foods needs to be controlled or the richer nations get more than their share and push up the price for all. U. S. industrial firms using large amounts of fats and oils have strongly pressured our Government to remove all import controls over fats and oils.

The world supply of fats and oils has been relatively shorter than that of any other basic food. It is likely that the domestic supply of fats and oils in the United States will be tighter. As for the world supply, no substantial change can be counted on until 1949, although resumption of production, particularly of palm oil in the Dutch East Indies, should increase the exportable supply. Our increasingly selfish policy in relation to fats and oils should be revealed.

The United States is within 93 per cent of prewar per capita consumption of fats and oils. On Continental
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An Eighteenth Century Pioneer in Social Action

*By Harrison M. Sayre**

WISE old Ben Franklin, sometimes called "the first cosmopolitan citizen the New World produced," can still teach us a thing or two about social action; and it is of interest to know that he got his inspiration from a Puritan preacher.

Disunity and civic apathy, in Franklin's time as now, are the principal enemies to be conquered; and Franklin developed techniques for overcoming both. What Franklin did for the thirteen colonies needs to be done today for the United Nations. What Franklin did to improve city life in the eighteenth century needs to be matched in the twentieth.

Against fire and filth in city life, Franklin established the first city fire department and the first municipal garbage collection.

Against ignorance, Franklin proposed the penny post and the academy that grew into the University of Pennsylvania. To him too goes credit for the circulating library.

Labor conditions were intolerable in Franklin's time; so he "organized labor" among the printers with such success that "the Ben Franklin Chapel" to this day is a common name for a printers' union.

Leisure wasn't the problem in Franklin's day that it is today; yet Franklin found the answer to it. Thrifty Ben quit his business and retired at the age of forty-two. Would that businessmen today knew as well how to employ their leisure for the public welfare!

To improve life for housewives, Franklin invented the first practical stove, supplanting the open fireplace. The rocking chair too was attributed to him!

The first bifocal lens was Franklin's idea (when he neared fifty). He said he wanted to be able to see "both the food upon his plate and the pretty girl across the table."

Although not noted for his devotion to the Church, it was Franklin who proposed that the daily sessions of the Constitutional Convention be opened with prayer. His ripe wisdom, patience, and good humor kept the sessions from disbanding.

His retort to John Hancock, "We must, indeed, all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately," did as much as any slogan to popularize the movement for union.

A master of the art of cultivating an informed public opinion, Franklin early formed a chain of discus-

* President, American Press, Inc. Chairman of Ohio Synod and Columbus Presbytery Committees on Social Education and Action.

sion groups, "The Junto," which survives in Philadelphia to this day. Most of Franklin's civic reforms were begun in the form of "a proposal" which he aired first before his friends in The Junto.

Even in his will, Benjamin Franklin was creative and civic-minded. His bequests of \$1,000 each to the cities of Boston and Philadelphia were the forerunners of today's community foundations. Always generous in his support of Church and community, he believed that free men owe a debt to free institutions.

While he failed to avert war with England, Franklin was brilliantly successful as our ambassador to France, and set a standard for diplomacy which the State Department has seldom, if ever, excelled.

The iconoclast, Elbert Hubbard, begins his biography of Franklin by suggesting that we do not know what made Franklin great. Ben was one of seventeen children; and sixteen have been forgotten. Hubbard said it was as if a hen, set on seventeen eggs, had hatched sixteen barnyard fowl and one eagle! But Franklin thought he knew better. He traced the philosophy that made him useful to the Puritan divine, Reverend Cotton Mather, son of Harvard's first president.

It is rather popular, just now, to damn the Puritans. They were insufferable individualists, we are told. They were narrow, negative, and bigoted, the source of an unwhole-

some streak in American life, so some would like the public to believe. Before we swallow such propaganda, we should do well to study Ralph Barton Perry's scholarly volume, *Puritanism and Democracy*, reviewed in the September, 1945, SOCIAL PROGRESS. America needs to revive every fine quality of Puritanism. We need more citizens like Franklin; and Franklin, at least, knew where he got his civic inspiration.

In a letter to Reverend Cotton Mather's son, Franklin wrote from Passy, France, in 1779:

"When I was a boy, I met with a book entitled *Essays to Do Good*, which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by its former possessor that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking as to have an influence on my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good, than any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book."

The book in question was first published in Boston in 1710. The letter quoted above appears in the preface to an edition published by Reverend George Burder in Glasgow in 1821. Perusal of its pages shows that Cotton Mather had a passion for works, as well as faith, that his emphasis was mainly positive, af-

firmative, and constructive, and, what is more, that he had a firm grasp of the social nature of human living.

The chapters of the book take the form of "proposals" (employing the term Franklin used so often) as to how Christians in their several callings could do good, as schoolmasters, magistrates, physicians, even ministers of the Gospel. There is a chapter (in 1710, mind you) on "Associations of Young Men," and the closing chapter on "Societies for Reformation" is, in effect, a description of The Junto.

"A small society," wrote Mather, "may prove an invaluable blessing to a town, whose welfare should become the object of their watchful attention: they may be as a garrison to defend it from the worst of its enemies: they may soon render it 'a mountain of holiness and a dwelling of righteousness.'"

Cotton Mather outlined the phi-

losophy and suggested some of the methods. Benjamin Franklin implemented both with patience, wit, ingenuity, and increasing effectiveness as his prestige and accomplishments grew.

If the messages of the two men could be compressed into a single sentence, it might be this from Burder's preface: "He imposed on himself a rule, never to enter any company, where it was proper for him to speak [better, "participate"—Ed.] without endeavoring to be useful in it; and in doing this, he found that promise fulfilled, 'to him that hath shall be given'; for on the faithful improvement of his talents, his opportunities for usefulness were gradually increased, till he became a blessing to whole Churches, towns, and countries."

Has the twentieth century invented an outline much better than Franklin's for social education and action?

"Stupidity is always the basis of the Judas bargain. We do great injustice to Iscariot, in thinking him wicked above all common wickedness. He was only a common money-lover, and, like all money-lovers, didn't understand Christ; couldn't make out the worth of Him, or meaning of Him. He didn't want Him to be killed. He was horror-struck when he found that Christ would be killed; threw his money away instantly, and hanged himself. . . . But Judas was a common, selfish, muddle-headed, pilfering fellow; his hand always in the bag of the poor, not caring for them. He didn't understand Christ; yet believed in Him, much more than most of us do; had seen Him do miracles, thought He was quite strong enough to shift for Himself, and he, Judas, might as well make his own little bye-perquisites out of the affair. . . . Now, that is the money-seeker's idea, all over the world. He doesn't hate Christ, but can't understand Him—doesn't care for Him—sees no good in that benevolent business; makes his own little job out of it at all events, come what will."

—John Ruskin.

For Times

Spiritual Decadence

"I have been born into a period of spiritual decadence in mankind."¹ This judgment, rendered by Albert Schweitzer, medical missionary, midway between the first and second world wars, needs no change to bring it into conformity with the evidence of recent years. The accelerated process of moral decay has been hastened by the incalculable moral cost of war.

The General Assembly took action against this tide last year and directed the Division of Social Education and Action to develop and promote a Church-wide program based upon the principles of its report. Letters citing and protesting the sins that arise from "the desires of the flesh [that] are against the Spirit" have reached the Division. We have suggested such study and action as we believed helpful. While the course of action before us often seems inadequate, let us not grow weary of well-doing nor doubtful of its usefulness. One of the worst mistakes a Christian can make is to underestimate his influence in his daily associations.

Men of Conviction

To discount the importance of direct personal action is to excuse inaction. The next step is participation in the evil course. A good friend and elder, whose life brought him often among friends who drank, persistently but politely refused all service of cocktails. When a companion suggested that he at least hold a glass and save both himself and those serving him embarrassment, he replied, "No, I can refuse as often as they bring it."

If we had the people's money that the liquor industry uses in order to make the nation believe a lie about alcohol, we should like to promote an advertising campaign featuring "Men of Conviction." It would include the leaders of the nation and the world whose testimony is that they could not have given their best service had they not followed a policy of strict abstinence. A companion series would also be impressive introducing "Men of Extinction"—those who drank themselves from places of usefulness to society and from the company of good friends. But this subject is too full of the tragedy of broken lives to publish. There is enough sadness and ruin here to smother the liquor industry's advertisements of "Men of Distinction" and close up the business—if it had a conscience; possibly enough for the Christian conscience to close up the industry—if it had a will.

¹ From *Out of My Life and Thought*. Published by Henry Holt & Company, Inc.

ce These

When evil gathers thickly, recall that "two" of Christian conviction can with God "put ten thousand to flight." But we must have those few who are willing to put up a fight for righteousness. We are concerned for laws that will restrain evildoers, but we are equally concerned for godly men and women. The former without the latter are useless.

The 158th General Assembly directed the Division of Social Education and Action to present a model bill for action by the state legislatures to control liquor advertising. The Division has encountered so many legal and practical difficulties in framing a bill that the Social Education and Action Committee has not yet secured one it is satisfied to recommend.

The history of the various methods of liquor control teaches us that every proposed solution has its problems. In view of this we might profitably study the plan to control the traffic through the nationalization of its manufacture and sale. This plan is now being advocated by the United Church of Canada.² The two major objections to the plan are that it puts the Government in the liquor business and that it means the socialization of a large industry. The liquor industry and its allies in the advertising media could be expected to make their strongest resistance at this point, where they would find honest support from those who fear further weakening of private enterprise. However, the ruin that the freedom of this enterprise brings to character is the greater danger to a democracy. The concern lest Government itself be corrupted must be weighed against problems that attend other proposed controls. It would considerably reduce resistance to education for abstinence to remove all private profit from the sale of liquor and all public advertising of it.

One Reason for Abstinence

Men give many excuses for drinking; there is one good reason for not drinking—we need all our God-given faculties and resources to serve his purpose in the crises of this age. Last year Presbyterians gave \$31 per capita to the Church. In 1945 (1946 figures not yet available) citizens spent \$54 per capita for liquor. When the Church gives to the mission of its Lord in the same proportion as the world supports the liquor industry, we shall find that a decisive return to religion has occurred. The likelihood is that men put their treasure where their hearts are.—P.N.P.

²*Liquor Control in Canada*, by R. C. Chalmers in *SOCIAL PROGRESS*, February, 1947.

Washington Seminar

Reported by H. Calvin Knock, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Scottsbluff, Nebraska, a delegate to the Churchmen's Washington Seminar, held February 4-6, Washington, D. C.

THE February Churchmen's Washington Seminar was interesting, thought-provoking, and sobering to those who came from all sections of our nation to see the 80th Congress at work. Four denominations and two universities were represented by forty-six religious leaders, lay men and women, as well as ministers and board secretaries. Perhaps the sharing of some experiences might lead to a fuller appreciation of the problems confronting our democracy.

The problem of Federal aid to education was presented by several members of the staff of the National Education Association. In the light of the social pattern of our day the education of our children is not a state problem but one of national importance. In order to have an intelligent citizenship the nation needs to be responsible for the education of its people.

Mississippi, for example, ranks fourth in the United States in the ratio of school-age children to the total population. While it spends only \$400 per year per classroom unit, 3.41 per cent of its income is allotted to education. New York allots 2.61 per cent of its income for education, yet with this levy is able to spend \$4,100 per classroom unit.

Thirty per cent of the adults living in any one state were not educated in that state. Ignorance cannot be quarantined.

Senate bill S.472, sponsored by Senator Taft, guarantees to the states their right to determine their own educational policies, yet insists that the states carry their share of the responsibility.

The tremendous problem of the refugees and displaced persons was presented and there was by no means a clear opinion, even on the part of those attending the seminar, as to what the United States should do. To be sure, we dare not ask other nations to do that which we refuse to do, namely, accept our share of the homeless refugees. These people have rights because they are human beings. We in America are morally bound by the Atlantic Charter to see that these rights are restored. How this is to be accomplished is a serious problem. A beginning could be our willingness to share our land with these unfortunate victims of war and hate.

The air seemed charged with the problem of atomic energy. We must remember that the secret of the atomic bomb is not a secret of man but a secret of nature; and, in that light, it must be assumed that it will

be discovered sooner or later by other nations. What Russia knows about atomic energy and what it will find out will be not by espionage primarily but by scientific research. The bargaining power of the atomic secret is fast running out. The United States had better use this power quickly to help to set up some system of international control of atomic energy.

A high tribute should be paid to the scientists familiar with the power of atomic energy who, toward the close of the 79th Congress, literally stormed the halls of Congress and insisted that a civilian committee be established. Senator Brien McMahon is acknowledged as the champion of civilian control of atomic energy. He, almost singlehanded, forced the issue in the 79th Congress and was instrumental in setting up machinery to place in control a committee responsible to the President and Congress for its policies and plans.

Perhaps the highlight of the seminar was an interview with Congressman Walter Judd, of Minnesota. There is a great need for men with Christian convictions in our legislative halls. "We need missionaries in Washington as well as we do in China," said Congressman Judd.

The highlight of this delegate's experience in Washington was the breakfast with the Nebraska delegation the morning of his arrival. This led to several interesting experiences, one of which was a weekly

breakfast prayer meeting attended by about twenty-five representatives. The topic for that morning was "Peace of Mind." The discussion was led by Representative J. Percy Priest, of Tennessee. Another noteworthy experience was the offering of the invocation in the House of Representatives at the invitation of Representative A. L. Miller, of the Sixth District of Nebraska.

Observers in Washington believe that this Congress will be very careful in the formulation of its policies. Tax reduction will receive some consideration but perhaps not the twenty per cent promised soon after the Republican victory. Legislation to control labor may be mild, because of fear of loss of labor support in 1948.

To the casual observer the activities in Washington are disturbing. The tremendous power and influence of vested interests, the innumerable groups constantly at work trying to secure legislation favorable to their purposes, the ease with which a small group can confuse an important issue, the difficulty with which all the facts concerning an issue are obtained bring about conditions disturbing to a conscientious citizen. On the other hand, Christian people must not forget that the average Representative or Senator is very sensitive to communications from his home district or state and that it is the duty of Christian people to make their wishes known.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Is Federal Aid to Education Needed? ¹

The states differ widely in the nature and amount of their economic resources. In 1943 the range in per capita income was from \$484 in Mississippi to \$1,452 in Connecticut; yet most of the states financially less able are rich in children. In 1943 the United States as a whole had 216 children of school age per 1,000 population. West Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, and North Dakota had 270 or more of school age per 1,000 population. Such states as Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Washington, and California had fewer than 200 children per 1,000 population.

In 1942-1943 the average salary of all teachers, principals, and supervisors ranged from \$654 in Mississippi to \$2,697 in New York State. The average for the nation was \$1,599. In 18 states the average was below \$1,200; in 8 states the average was below \$900. By 1944-1945 the average had advanced to an estimated level of \$1,850.

School property value per pupil averaged \$371 in 1942-1943 for the nation as a whole. It ranged from \$103 in Alabama to \$670 in New York. Six states had invested more than \$500 per pupil. Eighteen states provided less than \$300 per pupil.

To the long-standing conditions that have contributed to educational inequalities must be added the complications arising from the war. The less able states have lost larger proportions of qualified teachers than have the wealthier states; they have employed relatively more substandard teachers. The rural schools have been more adversely affected than the urban schools. Inequalities and differences have been magnified; the poor states have become poorer educationally at a more rapid rate than the most able states. At least 300,000 teachers left the profession—a number large enough to fill one third of the school positions. More than 50,000 positions were eliminated largely because teachers could not be found. The number of persons teaching on substandard certificates rose from the peacetime low of 4,000 to about 105,000 in the school year 1945-1946.

Enrollments in some teachers' colleges during the war dropped 70 to 80 per cent below prewar enrollments. In the nation as a whole enrollments declined on the average of 50 per cent.

The basis of American life is opportunity. No child has a genuine opportunity unless he has at least a basic minimum education. Education can become an instrument of social stratification and of regional and racial inequality.

Two important bills have been introduced in Congress. Both bills are in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman.

S. 199—Aiken

Federal aid totaling \$400,000,000 or \$20 per pupil; annual increases to \$60 in 1952 and, thereafter, available to all states.

U. S. Commissioner of Education responsible for administration of act.

Nonpublic tax-exempt schools may be reimbursed not to exceed 60 per cent of actual expenses for transportation, health services, and nonreligious supplies.

S. 472—Taft, *et al.*

Federal aid totaling \$150,000,000 grants aid up to \$40 only to those states now paying \$40 or less per pupil.

Complete control in state.

States now contributing to nonpublic tax-exempt schools may continue to do so at same rate of expenditure.

Backed by National Education Association.

¹ All statistics taken from *Social Legislation Information Service, Inc.*, February 10, 1947, No. 6.

World Trade. All agreements under the International Trade Organization Charter will be presented to Congress for approval.

Refugees. S. J. Resolution 77, to ratify the charter of the International Refugee Organization. Bill to admit displaced persons to America may be introduced by April 1—needs support. Contact Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

World Health Organization. H. J. R. 161—Judd, to provide for U. S. membership. Contact Representative Charles A. Eaton, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Atomic Energy. The fears aroused by the Lilienthal discussion are being realized. Bills are pouring in to place atomic energy under military control. Bills toward that end are H.R. 2543 and H.R. 2791. Contact Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chairman, Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

National School Health Services. H.R. 1980, to provide policy whereby normal children should not be placed in groups with physical or mental defectives. Contact Representative Charles A. Wolverton, Chairman, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Housing. S. 866, the National Housing Commission bill, introduced by Taft-Ellender-Wagner, is a modified version of last year's bill. It is the brightest spot among housing bills thus far. Contact Senator Charles Tobey, Chairman, Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

Alcohol Advertising. S. 265 prohibits the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of alcoholic beverages. S. 623 prohibits paid advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio. Contact Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., Chairman, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Annual Appropriation for Public Health Service. H.R. 2700. The following parts of the public-health program have suffered substantial cuts by the House:

1. Control of venereal disease.
2. Control of tuberculosis.
3. Aid to states for general public-health work.
4. Mental health activities.

Appropriation for hospital construction program was eliminated entirely for the present and left to the states. On the other hand, the amount for the National Cancer Institute was almost doubled as over and above the President's request. The Office of International Health Relations received an appropriation of only \$275,000, much below last year's appropriation. Write your United States Senators.

Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch. H.R. 2700. The budget for this work last year was \$329,400. The House appropriated \$154,097 for the next fiscal year. Moreover, the functions were transferred from the Division of Labor Standards to the Wage and Hour Division. The implications of both of these moves are very serious for our children. This is now in the hands of the Senate.

FAO Moves Toward a World Food Program

(Continued from page 3)

man's language in terms of function. Each nation, whether importing or exporting, needs "working stocks" to cover its own requirements. "Famine reserves" would be held nationally by both exporting and importing countries and used nationally and internationally under agreed conditions for relief in emergencies caused by crop failures or other disasters. This would be Operation Joseph internationalized by multilateral agreement rather than by an independent international authority. Then there are "price stabilization reserves," or "buffer stocks." These can perform useful services where the problem is mainly one of seasonal or cyclical price fluctuations. Stocks would not be held internationally, as originally proposed in the Orr plan, but would be held nationally and administered under internationally agreed rules.

But none of these devices would provide for people undernourished and unable to pay for food imported at agreed price ranges. The Commission therefore examined the possibilities of special price sales for the improvement of nutrition.

Various countries have had programs for the disposal of products on special terms to people in need. The food-stamp plan in the United States, for example, enabled low-income groups to obtain additional quantities of specified foods at the stores.

The Commission examined the possibility of the application of these techniques to international programs. With safeguards to exporting countries and countries importing wholly at commercial prices, such disposal programs can, in the Commission's view, make a limited contribution to the nutrition of undeveloped countries and help to remove burdensome surpluses in exporting countries.

Requests for foodstuffs under the special price program would be made to FAO, and its findings passed to the World Food Council for recommendations as to action.

This Council would be a new organ of FAO, consisting of representatives of eighteen member nations, elected by the annual FAO conference and meeting at least twice between its annual sessions.

Such a body was needed, the Commission decided, to help FAO to integrate national nutritional and agricultural production programs, to examine current developments in proposed and existing intergovernmental commodity agreements, to promote consistency and integration of agriculture commodity policies, to initiate studies of agricultural commodity situations becoming critical, and to advise on emergency measures.

Intergovernmental consultation on plans and programs for agriculture, for nutrition, and for international trade in agricultural products was recommended as an integral part of the regular sessions of the FAO conference. The Council would aid the director general and the FAO staff in preparing the report and agenda for the annual intergovernmental policy consultations.

The Commission's recommendations have been sent to member Governments. They will come before the annual FAO conference, meeting at Geneva, August 26. This will be a momentous conference. It is a crucial test, Sir John Orr says, of the willingness of nations to co-operate on practical measures for providing food for the people and prosperity for the food producers, at the same time opening up great new markets for industrial products to help to maintain full employment.

"I have said before," Sir John asserts, "that if the nations cannot work together on food, they can work together on nothing. If Governments do not give whole-hearted co-operation to the beginnings of a food plan for all the people, there is no alternative to a third world war."

Maturity in Labor Relations

(Continued from page 6)

carried with a commercial company, but all features of the program are jointly administered, and no monies are paid to the union as such.

The present coverage gives both union and nonunion workers in a hosiery mill, plus office help and supervision, the following protection:

1. Wage payments of 60 per cent of average earnings for as long as fifty-two weeks for a single illness or accident not compensated for under workmen's compensation.

2. Fifty days of hospitalization.

3. Fifty visits to a doctor or from a doctor for any single illness or accident.

4. Surgical fees, maternity payments, and lump-sum payments for accidental death.

The health-insurance program is one of the most highly appreciated features of the present agreement. The coverage provided is still revolutionary in the commercial insurance field, although the plan is now four years old. The local administration of the insurance program is handled by joint insurance committees in each plant, on which labor and management are represented.

Mature labor relationships encompass more than a perfectly written document, which would be worthless and meaningless unless the parties affected carried into daily and constant use and in their attitudes one toward the other the full reflection of such maturity and understanding. Beyond the National Labor Agreement, the Keystone Agreement, and the Guild Agreement, and the many independent agreements now in existence, is

the joint willingness of the parties to meet technical and economic problems; the general union attitude welcoming improvement in machinery and techniques, the employers' attitude of being willing to share the benefits of such improvement, and increased productivity in higher earning power for the workers.

There exists the willingness to cooperate in matters beyond the direct scope of the written agreement, such as the present program in the unionized portion of the industry, instituted by the union, for the rehabilitation of disabled veterans through retraining to fit themselves into skilled male positions in the seamless section of the industry, or into well-paid highly skilled female jobs in the full-fashioned section.

There is the program of the union, in co-operation with individual employers, to assist in helping physically handicapped persons, other than veterans, to become self-supporting citizens. This program, recently instituted, extends to the use of the badly crippled, the deaf mutes, and the blind in the industry.

The ethics, moralities, and attitudes of daily association displayed in meeting the minor problems of production are a large part of the total picture, and must be a part of any judgment made.

In conclusion, let me add that even under the union shop clause of the agreement, not once in the past thirty-three years has a member of the minority religious sects embracing the tenet of a "free conscience" ever been removed from a job in a union hosiery mill, or been forced to join the union, or been denied employment. Legislation can never enforce more ably that which decent people are willing to do voluntarily.

*"My own experiences in the industrial field have impressed upon me . . . that the problem of human relationships is the most vital and important part of industrial efficiency."*¹

—Stafford Cripps.

¹ From *Towards Christian Democracy*. Published by The Philosophical Library, Inc.

Sanctuary

"Behold, I set before you the way of life"

Call to Worship:

Leader: "Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;"

People: "Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof;"

Leader: "Let the field exult, and all that is therein;"

People: "Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy
Before Jehovah; for he cometh,"

Leader: "For he cometh to judge the earth:"

People: "He will judge the world with righteousness,"

Leader: "And the peoples with his truth."

Invocation:

"O Thou who art the Way, the Truth, and the Life, we lift our hearts to thee. Guide us in the Way this day, enlighten us with the Truth, and grant us the more abundant Life which thou alone canst give. This we ask, not that we may selfishly get good or glory for ourselves, but that we may do good unto others and so glorify thy name. Amen." ¹

Prayer:

"O Christ, thou hast bidden us pray for the coming of thy Father's kingdom, in which his righteous will shall be done on earth. We have treasured thy words, but we have forgotten their meaning, and thy great hope has grown dim in thy Church. We bless thee for the inspired souls of all ages who saw afar the shining city of God, and by faith left the profit of the present to follow their vision. We rejoice that today the hope of these lonely hearts is becoming the clear faith of millions. Help us, O Lord, in the courage of faith to seize what has now come so near, that the glad day of God may dawn at last. As we have mastered Nature that we might gain wealth, help us now to master the social relations of mankind that we may gain justice and a world of brothers. For what shall it profit our nation if it gain numbers and riches, and lose the sense of the living God and the joy of human brotherhood?

"Make us determined to live by truth and not by lies, to found our common life on the eternal foundations of righteousness and love, and no longer to prop the tottering house of wrong by legalized cruelty and force. Help us to make the welfare of all the supreme law of our land, that so our commonwealth may be built strong and secure on the love of all its citizens. Cast down the throne of Mammon who ever grinds the life of men, and set up thy throne, O Christ, for thou didst die that men might live. Show thy erring children at last the way from the City of Destruction to the City of Love, and fulfil the longings of the prophets of humanity. Our Master, once more we make thy faith our prayer: 'Thy kingdom come! Thy will be done on earth!' " ²

¹ By Howard B. Grose, in *Minister's Service Book*, compiled by James Dalton Morrison. Copyright, 1937, by Willett, Clark & Company.

² From *Prayers of the Social Awakening*, by Walter Rauschenbusch. Copyright. Used by permission.

Hymn:

"Thy Kingdom Come, O Lord."

Invocation: "Song of a Pilgrim-Soul."

"March on, my soul, nor like a laggard stay!

March swiftly on. Yet err not from the way

Where all the nobly wise of old have trod,—

The path of faith, made by the sons of God.

"Follow the marks that they have set beside

The Narrow, cloud-swept track, to be thy guide:

Follow, and honour what the past has gained,

And forward still, that more may be attained.

"Something to learn, and something to forget:

Hold fast the good, and seek the better yet:

Press on, and prove the pilgrim-hope of youth:

The Creeds are milestones on the road to Truth." ³

Litany:

That nations may vie with each other in the service of man and not in seeking dominion,

Father, we pray thee.

That science may be the constant handmaid of life and never the henchman of death,

Father, we pray thee.

That the treasure now spent on the engines of war may be used for the arts of peace,

Father, we pray thee.

That thy people may rejoice to endure labor and want and death to win, not a war, but thy kingdom,

Father, we pray thee.

That we may love not only our country but also the whole family of nations,

Father, we pray thee.

That ancient enmities may pass away and that thou wilt make all things new,

*Father, we pray thee.*⁴

Unison Prayer:

"Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness:

According to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.

Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity,

And cleanse me from my sin. . . .

Create in me a clean heart, O God;

And renew a right spirit within me." Amen.

³ From *The Poems of Henry Van Dyke*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

⁴ From *The Kingdom, the Power and the Glory*, an American edition of *The Grey Book*. Published by Oxford University Press, Inc., New York. Used with permission.

Only Then Shall We Find Courage

(Continued from page 8)

said, it is a problem, not of physics, but of ethics. There has been too much emphasis on legalisms and procedure; it is easier to denature plutonium than it is to denature the evil spirit of man.

The United Nations is the only instrument we have to work with in our struggle to achieve something better. But we have used U.N. and U.N. form and procedure to outvote the Russians on some occasions when the Russians were right. Yes, I do not think it is possible for any nation to be right all the time or wrong all the time. In all negotiations, whether over Spain, Argentina, Palestine, food, or atomic energy, so long as we rely on procedure and keep the threat of military power, we are attempting to use old methods in a world that is changing forever.

No one gainsays that the United Nations organization at times gives great evidence of eventually justifying the desperate hope that millions have in it. But time is not given to us in solving the problems science and war have brought. Powerful forces in the political world are moving swiftly toward crisis. When we look back to the end of the war—it seems ten years ago! Many leaders express well the need for world authority and an eventual world government, but actual planning and action to this end have been appallingly slow.

Private organizations anticipate the future, but Government agencies seem to live in the past. In working away from nationalism toward a supranationalism, for example, it is obvious that the national spirit will survive longer in armies than anywhere else. This might be tempered in the United Nations military forces by mixing the various units together, but certainly not by keeping a Russian unit intact side by side with an intact Ameri-

can unit, with the usual interunit competition added to the national spirit of the soldiers in this world enforcement army. But if the military staffs of the U.N. are working out concrete proposals along these lines, for a true internationally minded force, I have yet to read of it.

Similarly, we are plagued in the present world councils over the question of representation. It does not seem fair to some, for example, that each small Latin-American nation should have a vote while much larger nations are also limited to one vote. On the other hand, representation on a population basis may seem unfair to the highly developed states, because surely great masses of ignorant, backward peoples should not carry as much voice in the complicated technology of our world as those with greater experience.

These and a hundred other questions concerning the desirable evolution of the world seem to be getting very little attention. Meanwhile, men high in Government propose defense or war measures which would not only compel us to live in a universal atmosphere of fear but would cost untold billions of dollars and ultimately destroy our American free way of life—even before a war.

To retain even a temporary total security in an age of total war, Government will have to secure total control. Restrictive measures will be required by the necessities of the situation, not through the conspiracy of willful men. Starting with the fantastic guardianship now imposed on innocent physics professors, outmoded thinkers will insidiously change men's lives more completely than did Hitler, for the forces behind them will be more compelling.

Before the raid on Hiroshima, leading physicists urged the War Department not to use the bomb against defenseless women and children. The war could have been won without it. The decision was made in consideration of possible future

loss of American lives—and now we have to consider possible loss of millions of lives in future atomic bombings. The American decision may have been a fatal error, for men accustom themselves to thinking a weapon used once can be used again.

Had we shown other nations the test explosion at Alamogordo, New Mexico, we could have used it as an education for new ideas. It would have been an impressive moment to make considered proposals for world order to end war. Our renunciation of this weapon as too terrible to use would have carried great weight in negotiations and made convincing our sincerity in asking other nations for a binding partnership to develop these newly unleashed powers for good.

The old type of thinking can raise a thousand objections of "realism" against this simplicity. But such thought ignores the psychological realities. All men fear atomic war. All men hope for benefits from these new powers. Between the realities of man's true desires and the realities of man's danger, what are the obsolete "realities" of protocol and military protection?

During the war many persons fell out of the habit of doing their own thinking, for many had to do simply what they were told to do. Today lack of interest would be a great error, for there is much the average man can do about this danger.

This nation held a great debate concerning the menace of the Axis, and again today we need a great chain reaction of awareness and communication. Current proposals should be discussed in the light of the basic facts, in every newspaper, in schools, in Churches, in town meetings, and in private conversations. Merely reading about the bomb promotes knowledge in the mind, but only talk between men promotes feeling in the heart.

Not even scientists completely understand atomic energy, for each man's

knowledge is incomplete. Few men have ever seen the bomb. But all men, if told a few facts, can understand that this bomb and the danger of war is a very real thing, directly concerning every person in the civilized world. We cannot leave it to generals, Senators, and diplomats to work out a solution over a period of generations. Perhaps five years from now several nations will have made bombs and it will be too late to avoid disaster.

Ignoring the realities of faith, good will, and honesty in seeking a solution, we place too much faith in legalisms, treaties, and mechanisms. We must begin through the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission to work for binding agreement, but America's decision will not be made over a table in the United Nations. Our representatives in New York, in Paris, or in Moscow depend ultimately on decisions made in the village square.

This belief of physicists prompted our formation of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, with headquarters at Princeton, N.J., to make possible a great national campaign for education on these issues. Detailed planning for world security will be easier when negotiators are assured of public understanding of our dilemmas. Then our American proposals will be, not merely documents about machinery, but the embodiment of a message from a nation of human beings.

Science has brought forth this danger, but the real problem is in the minds and hearts of men. We will not change the hearts of other men by mechanisms, but by changing our hearts and speaking bravely.

We must be generous in giving to the world the knowledge we have of the forces of nature, after establishing safeguards against abuse. We must be not merely willing but actively eager to submit ourselves to binding authority necessary for world security. We must realize we cannot simultaneously plan for war and peace.

The Workshop

S.E.A. Workshop. On Sunday, February 9, 1947, the S.E.A. Committee of Westchester Presbytery conducted a workshop. There were 56 registrants representing 13 Churches in the presbytery. The keynote address on "Why S.E.A." was made by Miss Fern M. Colborn of the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. Rev. David O. Kendall, moderator of the presbytery, presided over the concluding meeting, the address being delivered by Rev. John Oliver Nelson of the Federal Council of Churches. Afternoon workshop groups were conducted as follows:

Alcohol Education

Leader, Mrs. Caroline Brooks.
Chairman, Rev. Robert H. Robinson.

Industrial Relations

Leader, Rev. John F. Duffy, Jr.
Chairman, Rev. George McClelland.

Political Action

Leader, Miss Fern M. Colborn.
Chairman, Rev. L. H. Chamberlain.

Race Relations

Leader, Mr. Edward C. Solomon.
Chairman, Rev. Willis A. Baxter.

World Order

Leader, Dr. Guy F. Wells.
Chairman, Rev. Arthur Wahmann.

Local Housing Drive. The Philadelphia Housing Association reports that homes have recently been found for at least 35 families as a result of an emergency housing drive sponsored by the 21st Ward Community Council. Evictions were stopped, and persons willing and able to provide additional housing through conversion were familiarized with the necessary procedures, materials in some instances being found to complete conversions. The formation of a permanent housing committee has resulted as a fur-

ther outstanding example of the effectiveness of such community action. Announcement of the drive was made in Churches and Church bulletins, in the local newspapers, in the movies, over the radio, and by a loud-speaker car of the 13th Police District. Among the sponsoring groups were the Clergy Club, the 21st Ward Real Estate Board, the Suburban Press, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the North Light Boys' Club, and the Lions Club.

A Community Service Suggestion.

Attendance at the public meeting of the Board of Education is the suggestion coming to us from the S.E.A. Committee of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, Illinois. The committee states, "Such public interest as this will be a vital factor in the support of those influences that are seeking to improve the school situation in our city, where, for the first time in many years, Board of Education meetings are open to the public."

Race Relations Institute. The Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association has announced that its fourth annual institute of race relations will be held July 1-19, 1947, at the Social Science Institute of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

The announcement states: "Specialists from the field of anthropology, economics, education, political science, law, sociology, social work, labor and management, government administration, and religion discuss race in relation to world history, science, economics, politics, education, communication, and broad community planning" will discuss racial issues.

Further information may be obtained from William H. Grayson, Jr., Secretary, Institute of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

The Church and Economic Life

(Continued from page 10)

Hence, in a world that is dividing into ideological camps, hope lies in the conference agreement that "Christianity is not to be identified with any particular economic system. Every system is to be judged by Christian standards that transcend it, and the judgment is likely to issue in commendation of some aspects of the system, condemnation of others, and indifference to still others." Where groups contend over forms of ownership, there is a healing perspective in the statement that "property represents a trusteeship under God, and should be held subject to the needs of the community. Under Christian perspectives, no single current system of ownership universally meets this test. In fields where the present forms of ownership are difficult to regulate for the common welfare, encouragement should be given to further experimentation in the forms of private, co-operative, and public ownership."

The final topic which the delegates considered in the sections was the program the Churches should undertake. The thought permeating Part Three is expressed in some of its closing sentences: "Church membership as conceived throughout this report involves a deep concern for the economic welfare of mankind and a sacrificial dedication of time, talents, and energies to the daily service of Christ through the extension of social justice in the economic field. We call upon our fellow Church members everywhere to join us in commitment to such service." If this is to come about, the Church must move forward into education for economic life, finding the pertinent facts, and applying Christianity in economic life. The report becomes specific and practical in stating what the Churches must do if they are to move from general statements into training lives for discipleship in the area of economic responsibility.

Emphasis throughout was upon the conference as an initial step in a process—and its lasting significance will best be seen in its follow-up. The conference was not designed to yield Christian answers to economic problems; it was designed to mark out a direction which Church people can take together, and to point to some of the first steps to be taken along that way.

There are three elements that we have to build upon. One is the Pittsburgh Conference itself as a method of bringing together, under the sponsorship of the Churches, Church people drawn from agriculture, business, consumers groups, labor, education, public office, the professions, and civic organizations, together with members of the clergy. Plans for Week-End Study Conferences in important centers of American economic life are already under way. These will be undertaken by state and city councils of Churches; they will be broadly patterned after the Pittsburgh plan, and will focus upon the meaning of the conference for the economic conditions and relations within the particular area or community.

Another asset in the follow-up is the conference report itself. This should be read and studied and commented on throughout the Churches, and among non-Church groups as well, such as service clubs, labor unions, business organizations, consumer co-operatives, farm organizations, and schools and universities. Here plans are under way to bring the report through the denominations to the individual Churches and their membership.

A third asset is the Pittsburgh Conference as an experience, embodied in nearly 370 delegates, consultants, and observers. Particularly the laymen among them can bring to denominational and to council of Churches meetings, to local congregations and to Church groups, the significance of the Pittsburgh Conference as a living experience of Christian fellowship venturing with Christ into the still unredeemed areas of economic life.

"Do Unto Others"

(Continued from page 12)

Most of the Protestant Churches have carried on large programs of relief and rehabilitation work through their own denominations and through Church World Service. Staggering amounts of food, clothing, and supplies of all kinds have gone all over the world, although these amounts have seemed small in view of the even more staggering needs. Will the generosity which has sent such supplies abroad be just as evident when the victims of persecution and terror arrive on our shores? Hunting in the closet for old clothes, giving a few pennies or a large check is quite different from helping to create community atmosphere of good will toward displaced persons. In some communities committees may need to be formed to help with the problems that are sure to arise. In other places a Church may be able to take the responsibility for a family of fellow Churchmen, even though they speak little English.

The agency through which the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America will undoubtedly wish to work on the problems of displaced persons is Church World Service. Through the Restoration Fund of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Church World Service is receiving very substantial gifts toward its total program. Some of the undesignated money from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. is already going toward the work for displaced persons, and perhaps more will be designated for this purpose later.

Last fall Church World Service signed a corporate affidavit with the United States Government to bring into the country 600 persons. It was thought at that time that fifty a month would come. The cost of transportation for each person amounts to about \$200. In addition, the living of each person must be guar-

anteed for six months. If by the end of that time the person or the family is self-supporting, the United States Government will release Church World Service from further responsibility. Since many of the displaced persons come to relatives or friends in this country, it is thought that the average cost per person for transportation and necessary living costs during the first six months would be not more than \$500 each. Church World Service, therefore, set aside a sum of \$300,000 for the care of its first 600 persons.

Imagine the difficulties of selecting 600 out of 850,000! However, this kind of beginning is being made at the same time that legislation urging the use of half of the quota numbers which were not used during the war years is being pushed. Staff have already been sent to Germany to begin the process of selection. The contract between Church World Service and UNRRA has been negotiated. This work is started even while the present quota regulations may prevent more than a trickle of the 600 from getting over. The total yearly quota for Estonia, for instance, is only 166 persons, and not all of this quota, of course, is allocated to displaced persons. The figures given by Mr. La Guardia last month for Estonians still remaining in UNRRA camps was 27,265.

If the plight of these destitute and frightened people could be put clearly before the American people, without doubt their sympathy would go out to them. It is the distance and unreality of the difficulties of those so far away that makes the pictures so unclear. Perhaps it would be well for us read again the inscription on the Statue of Liberty which says:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free. . . .
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost
to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

The Battle of Food Is Not Over

(Continued from page 16)

Europe, while the amount varies greatly between countries, the average is not over 67 per cent per capita of prewar. The high degree of tuberculosis among European adolescents, we are told, is in part caused by absence of sufficient fats and oils in their diets.

From January through June, 1946, the United States exported roughly two thirds more fats and oils than it imported. Giving in to domestic demands, the Department of Agriculture reversed its policy and during the second half of 1946 the United States imported over one third more than it exported of fats and oils. For the year 1946 we imported 149 million pounds more than we exported (this includes both edible and inedible fats and oils, excluding petroleum). It has been tentatively announced that the United States expects to import in 1947, 178 million pounds more than it will export.

Although some of the industrial oils are not edible, others, such as coconut oil (copra oil) may be used for both. The soap industry in particular is urgently requesting removal of controls so it can attempt to purchase the complete supply of copra from the Philippines. At present approximately 50 per cent of this is going to Europe where it is most desperately needed for human consumption. If American firms are unrestrained in purchasing

fats and oils on the world's market, it is inevitable that the world price will be increased during the present shortage. U. S. lard, wholesale, is triple the prewar price. Already our soaring food prices have seriously cut down the amount of our food foreign nations can now afford to purchase.

In an article of this brevity it is not possible to cover the food needs of the world. Therefore, only a few food categories have been discussed, principally the needs of Europe. Rice shortages in the Far East are still most serious and are complicated by political changes and current or imminent civil wars.

The United States developed during the war its food production, principally grains, beyond the needs of our own country. Therefore, if the purchases of U. S. food by foreign nations can continue to be financed through international loans and economic recovery abroad, the American farmer need not fear an impending depression such as caused bankruptcy to nearly six million American farmers after World War I, caused in part by the sudden ending of food shipments overseas.

Food is essential for peace and freedom. The battle of food is by no means over. If we are to win it for democracy, individual American citizens must make sure that food policies are followed that are not dictated by speculators or profit-seeking trade groups but are genuinely geared to the needs of a peaceful and prosperous world.

A Prayer

*"Give us this day the brains and the conscience so to organize our economic life that the bread which thou hast already given us in abundance may not rot but may be distributed to meet the needs of all people."*¹

—John C. Bennett.

¹ From *Christianity and Our World*. Published by The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, Inc.

About Books

Religion in Economics: A Study of John Bates Clark, Richard T. Ely, and Simon N. Patten, by John Rutherford Everett. King's Crown Press. \$2.50.

Here is a most interesting, enlightening, and well-written book showing the effect of their religious beliefs on the economic theories of three influential teachers and writers in the past generation in America. Starting with "the assumption that economic theories can be adequately understood only within the context of the individual writer's total philosophy, both social and personal," the author selected Clark, Ely, and Patten for study "because they represent three different types of American economic and religious thinking."

In an introductory chapter the author sketches the rise of industrialism following the Civil War. Briefly he states the secular social theories of Henry George, John Fiske, Edward L. Youmans, William Graham Sumner, and the American Marxists. Even more briefly he sketches the position of such representative preachers of the social gospel as Washington Gladden, George Herron, and Charles M. Sheldon. He then turns to a study of Clark, Ely, and Patten as representative economists who have utilized religion to provide "a corrective for the general disregard of the religious factor in the historical study of economic doctrine."

A chapter is devoted to each man. Each begins with a succinct biographical sketch setting forth the factors in family, early experience, and education which influenced the development of the man's philosophy of life and economic theories. Then follows an exposition of his philosophy and economic doctrine as contained in his major writings. In a concluding chapter the three men are compared as to their ideas of God, man, natural law,

competition and property, and attitudes toward government. A very brief critical appraisal of the men and their positions concludes the work. If this appraisal had been extended, the book would be even more valuable. A selected bibliography and extensive notes indicate the quality of scholarship that went into the book and give leads to the reader who wishes to go farther.

Clark is selected for his contributions to the neoclassical school of economists. The keystone of his organic conception of society was the brotherhood of man based upon the Fatherhood of God. He believed that nature became niggardly because man's wants are exorbitant and man deserves only what he produces. In later life he renounced his dislike of the competitive system, but his basic motive always was to see justice established. Competition must work within the framework of morality. The Church, as the custodian of morality, is charged with the greatest of all social responsibilities—seeing that moral progress continues.

Ely, the prophet of religious economics, is selected because his "influence is still felt in both religious and academic communities through his emphasis upon the social responsibility of the economist and his attempt to make the world of religion conscious of economic problems." He worked out his whole social theory from religious assumptions. He believed that Christianity has within it all that is necessary for the solution of society's problems. Society would improve in proportion to the number of people who become Christ-like.

Patten, the theologian of religious economics, is selected for study because of "his contemporary influence on New Deal social planners and his suggestive and original approach to both religion and economics." He claimed that all religious

thought is economically determined. Therefore the religious conceptions of one epoch cannot be transferred to another. The only answer to the problems that face a chaotic industrial society is a rebirth of religion in social terms. Planning and the intelligent use of resources offer a chance to eradicate sin, since "sin is misery; misery is poverty; the antidote of poverty is income."

Clark, Ely, and Patten made their major contribution in asserting that an economist must be more than an engineer of the pricing system and that he must work within the framework of a "social philosophy which deals with the fundamental nature of man and assumptions regarding human meaning, purpose, and destiny." They all, especially Patten, err in taking too optimistic an attitude toward man, minimizing sin, and falling victim to the easy optimism of the nineteenth century progressivist thought.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

The Christian Future: The Modern Mind Outrun, by Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

This book is a profound analysis of our times in terms of faith and man's spiritual relationships. Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, as a very young man, joined the faculty of the University of Leipzig. He later became professor of law at Breslau, served at the front in World War I, worked on the sociological problems of industry in a workers' education program, and was one of the pioneers in the founding of volunteer labor camps. The author taught at Harvard University and in 1935 became professor of social philosophy at Dartmouth. He was called by the Government to train leaders for the Civilian Conservation Corps and led the significant experiment in communal living at Camp William James.

This biographical sketch is given because it reveals that the author's thought,

though profound and scholarly, is no product of the "ivory tower." Like Reinhold Niebuhr, he combines a background of European Christian thought with American experience. The combination, expressed through a creative mind, makes the book refreshingly different. However, he lacks Niebuhr's clarity of thought and facility of expression.

The book is written because the author feels that the only hope for modern man lies in translating the forms of the Christian faith and spirit into vital realities in our day. Only in the Christian faith with its transcendent and eternal perspectives; with its capacity to turn death into life, ends into beginnings, and full acceptance of the death-life succession; with its emphasis upon creative tension and conflict, can man find his way out of the contemporary chaos.

The opening chapters are a stimulating analysis of bifurcated modern man who is partially a person in his suburban home but merely a cipher in the industrial life of the city where his human roots and values are destroyed by mechanization and rapid change. "Here is a human being who is full of names half the time and void of names during the other half."

The range of thought and scholarship is impressive, moving from Abraham, Buddha, Lao-tse, and Jesus to Charles Darwin and John Dewey. Dewey, says Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, is the Confucius of America and is to be feared as such. It is the raising of intelligent questions about so many things we commonly take for granted that makes the book stimulating.

The range of subjects is almost too broad to be fitted into the central theme. This, however, contributes to the richness and stimulation and will provide many a sermon thought and subject to the preacher-reader. Sentences like these set one's mind working: "You cannot be impersonal when you have to die in person."

... "Every time we speak, we either renew or cheapen the words we use." ... "Modern labor conditions drained the resources by which we grow into and out of human fellowships." ... "Private religion is no religion; it is its stump."

This is a book, not on the social gospel, but on the full Gospel that is full simply because it sees that man is only man in a web of socio-spiritual relationships and can be understood only in terms of his significance to God and the Kingdom of God. Don't plan the next few months' sermons without reading it.

HUBERT C. NOBLE

Soviet Philosophy, by John Somerville. Philosophical Library, Inc. \$3.75.

Basic to peace is a more accurate knowledge and understanding of the newest great power, Russia. Cutting across the sound and fury of the daily press, *Soviet Philosophy* affords Americans a scholar's survey of the principles and practices which fashion Soviet society.

John Somerville, the author, is an American professor of philosophy. In order to collect the material upon which this book is based, he learned Russian and spent the years 1935 to 1937 in the U.S.S.R. as a Cutting Traveling Fellow of Columbia University. During this time he visited a variety of social institutions and talked with many types of people. He spent a considerable time in the more important centers of philosophical study.

As to Dr. Somerville's attitude toward Russia, he says in effect that before passing judgment upon any philosophy it is necessary to understand it. His survey of basic Soviet concepts aims at exposition rather than partisanship.

Soviet Philosophy is divided into two parts, "Social Outlook" and "World View."

The chapters on "Social Outlook" deal with the statement and practice of historical materialism, the Marxian social theory. For general readers this section of

the book will doubtless be most valuable.

After an introduction to the terms and structure of the Marxian analysis of society, Somerville takes up in turn several concepts of political and economic democracy, and then contrasts capitalist, fascist, and socialist ideas of freedom.

Of considerable interest is the discussion of Soviet ethics, the relation of means and ends, and some Soviet approaches to antisocial behavior. The relationship of the individual to the state is compared under the two systems. The impact of Soviet social theory and practice upon threats constitutes the final subject under "Social Outlook."

Although the social theory of Soviet philosophy is most emphasized, it is but a part of the "World View" of dialectical materialism considered in the second section of the study. Here Somerville traces the philosophical history of some basic points of controversy in Soviet thought. The attitude of Soviet philosophers toward the great philosophical systems of the past is outlined. The conflict between formal logic and the dialectical method of thinking is described. The reader may be interested in comparing the Soviet methods of teaching and study in philosophy with their counterparts here.

Regardless of our final verdict on the Soviet system, Dr. Somerville's book is a lucid delineation of Soviet theory and practice and challenges the attention of those who wish to base their judgment in world affairs on something more substantial than sensational headlines.

SCOTT M. HOYMAN

The Plotters, by John Roy Carlson. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. \$3.50.

There are ominous signs that this nation is about to plunge into a witch-hunting spree similar to the spy scares following the last war that were later diagnosed as "national neurosis." With this development *The Plotters*, which is a sequel to Carlson's earlier *Under Cover*,

becomes even more significant than when it was published last fall.

There is general agreement that we must identify and expose individuals and groups who are bent on destroying democracy, oppose them by appropriate means, and bar them from strategic positions in national life. But which individuals and groups are really subversive and which are most dangerous? What is the most effective means of opposing them? And how can we circumscribe their influence without abridging civil liberties and thus surrender democracy in its frantic defense?

This book probably gives us a more adequate answer to the first question than is available from any other source. Although it reads much like a mystery thriller, fantastic and incredible, it is an account of real people and organizations, and of their effort to destroy American democracy by boring from within. Again Carlson has dared to present names, dates, addresses, direct quotations, and facsimiles of sensational documents.

Carlson has investigated and reported the bellicose activities of both communists and fascists. It is clear from the facts that at the present time fascism is the real threat in America. The fascist groups are far more numerous; as a result of alliances with powerful economic interests they command almost unlimited resources; and they have been successful generally in concealing their insidious purposes under an aura of highly vocal but spurious patriotism.

Despite the present impotence of American communists, as compared with other subversive groups, one of the most valuable sections of the book is Chapter 9, which deals with the American Communist Party. It is a forthright account of the activities of the Communist Party, its abrupt about-face and truce with capitalism after Russia entered the war, its recent return to doctrinaire line and methods, and the communist strategy of taking

over liberal democratic groups or, when this proves impossible, enervating them through various kinds of skullduggery.

America needs guidance now as never before if we are to deal intelligently with the issue of communism. Red-baiting reactionaries see communists in every crevice and cranny, and impugn communistic motivation to every effort toward social reform or against discrimination. But real communists decry even the most reserved criticism of communism as red-baiting. Meanwhile, our failure to see native communism on the one hand and our relations with the Russian nation on the other, as separate and different issues, continues to jeopardize world peace.

Under "What I Can Do for Democracy" are discussed some of the methods whereby individuals and groups can oppose subversive influences and work for a more virile and more inclusive democracy. It is the judgment of the author that most repressive measures only drive the groups farther underground where they multiply more prolifically. It is useful to expose subversive groups, lay bare their real purposes, their sources of support, and their various alliances with more "respectable" groups; and to oppose them with vigorous prodemocratic activity and propaganda.

"Communist and nationalist advances are symptoms of an ailing society. A healthy economic organism may carry these political bacteria in its blood stream, but they can attack successfully only when the organism is weak. Their success is an exact measure of the state of America's health. Name calling may afford temporary relief for some. The cool, farsighted American will adopt measures to strengthen America in order to resist the twin plagues. Only a healthy nation can survive them."

Carlson quotes Wendell Willkie, who wrote shortly before his death, "The best answer to communism is a living, vibrant, fearless democracy—economic, social, and political."

N.E.K.

Study and Action

Films

One World Or None. The National Committee on Atomic Information presents a Philip Ragan Production with technical assistance of The Federation of American (Atomic) Scientists. This nine-minute animated cartoon dramatizes that: (1) There is no secret (scientists of many countries contributed to the development of atomic energy). (2) Atomic warfare could obliterate our present world civilization. (3) To prevent this, the nations of the world must together control atomic energy. (4) Atomic energy can be for all peoples the great fusing force of one world—or none!

The film is available for local group use in two forms: (1) 16-mm. sound motion picture. *Purchase price, \$30.00. Rental fee, \$2.00.* (2) 35-mm. slide film. By purchase only. \$3.00, slide film with printed speech notes and discussion guide; \$4.50 additional for 12" record with narration, music, and sound effects for use on any regular phonograph—78 r.p.m.

How to Conquer War. A 35-mm. film strip, showing 192 pictures and titles, has been prepared to present the case for world government. It traces the growth of order and peace in larger and larger units of society, as lesser sovereignties are united in greater ones. The film is recommended by Clifton Fadiman, Raymond Swing, Thomas K. Finletter, Mark Van Doren and others. The price is \$3.00, including commentary.

Seeds of Destiny. Church World Service announces a 16-mm. sound film running seventeen minutes and giving a most realistic portrayal of overseas conditions. Order ahead for loan privilege.

Team Work, a fifteen-minute sound film that was produced by the U. S. Army Signal Corps to be shown to the Armed Services as part of their orientation training. It is a graphic record of the Negro soldiers' part in the European theater. The film deals intelligently with prejudice against both racial and religious groups and faces very realistically the problems in America. *Rental fee, \$2.50 a day.*

Forward All Together. A film strip accompanied by speech notes that shows present-day America—its good points, its sore spots, and the causes of both. Suggestions on what to do about discrimination are included in picture form. *Purchase price, \$2.50. Rental fee, 10 cents.*

American Counterpoint. A film strip based on the book by Alexander Alland, introduction by Pearl S. Buck. The film and the accompanying text depict the American people in a great variety of national, racial, and religious settings. *Purchase price, \$2.50. Rental fee, 10 cents.*

Exhibits

The Negro in American Life. Photographic exhibit of 26 panels on contributions of the Negro in forwarding American democracy, 20" x 30" each. *Purchase price, \$25.00.* May be borrowed for two-week period on payment of express costs and handling fee.

The Jew in American Life. Photographic exhibit of 25 panels on some contributions of the Jew in forwarding American democracy, 27" x 40" each. *Purchase price, \$35.00.* May be borrowed as above noted.

Order above materials from any Presbyterian Book Store.

The Minimum Price of Peace

*By Norman Thomas**

ARE we doomed to the suicide of World War III?" By no means. So pessimistic a conclusion would be warranted only if man himself were war, doomed by his own nature to recurring spasms of organized homicidal mania. Despite the antiquity of war as an institution, students generally agree that it was not practiced during the long Stone Age. It is not practiced today by Eskimos. It is today feared and hated by most of those who accept it. Wars arise out of the faulty arrangements men have made for living together. Even if those arrangements and the moral and emotional attitudes with which they are bound cannot be changed instantaneously, nevertheless the probability of war may be reduced sufficiently to gain time for working out the final victory of peace.

It has long been agreed that war would be less likely if nations would stop preparing themselves for it. But this they have not done, partly because of imperialist ambition and partly because of mutual distrust of one another's good faith. Once within recent memory the nations formally outlawed war. But their Governments would not agree to any effective international supervision

of conduct—which made a lie of their pledged word. Have men now the desire to make effective the renunciation by strong nations of competitive armament and its Siamese twin, the imperialist exploitation of the weak? If they have, peace in our time—at least in the sense of freedom from great wars—is a practical certainty, and on terms that will set mankind far along the road to the final security of the right sort of world government: a federation of co-operative commonwealths. Let us see what resources we have in ourselves and our institutions to pay this minimum price for peace.

1. *Men generally in all lands want peace.* Not passionately or intelligently enough to restrain effectively aggressive Governments or to stop quickly and reasonably the wars into which they blunder; but strongly enough so that continued propaganda and conscription are necessary for waging modern war. The United States came into the war by way of defense. We can count on a latent but exceedingly strong popular fear of another war.

2. *This latent fear of war has been greatly increased by fear of atomic explosives.* This weapon, together with the possible use of bacteria, poisons, and perhaps cosmic rays, presents us with the pros-

* Condensed from *Appeal to the Nations*, Chapter X, by Norman Thomas. Published by Henry Holt and Company, Inc. \$2.75. Copyright, 1947, by Henry Holt and Company, Inc. Used with permission.

pect of suicide for the human race. Opposition to war can be allied with an instinct for the preservation of the race. Fear alone will not automatically guarantee peace, but it can be made a powerful ally of the peacemakers.

3. *Fear is by no means the only human emotion that can be enlisted in the fight against war.* More and more its own heroes think of it as an unclean thing and yearn for human brotherhood, or for the day "when we need not kill."

4. *Already these emotions and a realization of the incredible cost of war have compelled Governments, mutually suspicious and greedy for power as they are, to set up the United Nations.* Some of the organs of the United Nations, especially if certain changes can be made, may afford an immediate means of implementing pledges of disarmament and the liquidation of imperialism.

These resources in men's attitudes and institutions cannot be utilized by the peacemakers to make the existing United Nations in itself a guarantee of peace or to set up immediately a better world government. They supply neither the passion nor the wisdom to deal one by one with every focal point of a new war's infection. But they warrant the confidence that men aroused by one clear trumpet call and organized on a simple program may rapidly realize the age-old dream of peace. The initial price is disarmament and

the liquidation of imperialism under the aegis of a co-operative organization of nations no longer obsessed by sovereignty but concerned for men's common deliverance from death. What will this renunciation of national armament require?

1. *Universal abolition of universal peacetime conscription.* Until the release of atomic energy this was probably the most important single feature of disarmament. It is impossible to reject war while the youth of every nation are trained under conscription in the psychology and practice of war. Powerful as are various forms of propaganda at the disposal of the modern state, it is doubtful if any of them could lead a nation into aggressive war except for the psychological preparedness induced by military conscription. Historically, acceptance of conscription over a period of years has been an essential preliminary to the extension of the absolute powers of the state over the individual which constitutes the curse of totalitarianism. And totalitarianism is the chief single menace to peace.

2. *Complete demilitarization of narrow waterways and island bases except as some of the latter might be utilized as stations for the mobile forces of the United Nations.* In a disarmed world there is no point in fortification of the Dardanelles, the Suez Canal, or the Panama Canal
(Continued on page 22)

Race Relations in Brazil

By Harvey Walker *

IN THE United States, the situation of the person of mixed blood is unhappy, of low prestige, and of shameful abnormality. In Brazil, however, the *mestizo* can aspire to and has reached the presidency of the Republic and the condition of those of mixed blood approaches social normality."¹ Thus, in two short sentences, the leading sociologist of modern Brazil summarizes a contrast between his land and ours which is striking to all those who know them both. It is often said that Brazil has solved its race problem—or even that there is no problem of race in Brazil. Amazed North Americans want to know how and why. The answer is partly historical, partly economic, and partly sociological.

The historical part of the answer begins with the discovery of the country by the Portuguese navigator, Pedro Álvares de Cabral, in the year 1500. He found the land sparsely populated by nomadic tribes of Indians who found it easy to live in the midst of tropical verdure and fertility without much physical or mental effort. The tribes of the seacoast were, in the main, friendly and mingled freely with the newcomers.

During the first thirty years after the discovery the immigrants into the country were mainly pirates and shipwrecked sailors, many of whom took Indian women as wives. Planned colonization by the Portuguese Government began about 1530, but it was successful only at two points—São Vicente, on the coast south of what is now Rio de Janeiro, and Olinda, now a suburb of Recife in the present state of Pernambuco, in the northeast.

The colonists sent by the Portuguese Government were mainly soldiers and convicts, few women. There were a few noblemen and rich merchants who purchased plantations and moved with their wives and families to the new land. But, in the main, the wives of the settlers came from among the native Indian women.

The sugar cane transplanted to Brazil from Madeira proved to be remarkably suitable for cultivation along the Brazilian seacoast. But the plantation owners found the Indians entirely unsuited to serve as laborers in the production of sugar. They were unaccustomed to such heavy work and languished in the confinement of the plantation stockade. If the culture of sugar cane was to succeed, cheap and suitable labor had to be found. It was found

* Professor of political science, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

¹ Gilberto Freyre, *Sociologia*, Livraria José Olympio, Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1945.

in the importation of Negro slaves from Africa. This nefarious but economically profitable trade which began in 1533 was not abandoned until 1850. Slavery in Brazil was not abolished until 1888—more than twenty years after our Thirteenth Amendment. During more than three centuries of the slave trade nearly eight million Negroes were imported from Africa to work on the sugar plantations.

The absorption of this large group of members of the Negro race into the Brazilian population began at the outset and continues to the present day, although there still are many pure-blooded Negroes in the country. Despite the heroic efforts of the priests there was scant respect among the early colonists for the institution of monogamic marriage. The local equivalent of the *droit du seigneur* gave the practice of polygamy a start and the scarcity of European women did the rest. The Portuguese, who formed the largest white element in the population (there were also many Dutch and French), seemed to have a high ability to mix with any race. Being themselves a mixed race, with Iberian, Phoenician, Carthaginian, Celtic, Roman, Gothic, and Moorish blood, the Portuguese amalgamate easily with new races. Thus from the mixture of white, Indian, and Negro blood come many of the Brazilians of today.

European immigration into

Brazil, at one time almost exclusively from Portugal and its possessions, was encouraged in the nineteenth century. The temperate climate of the South attracted many Germans, Italians, Syrians, Poles, and Spaniards. A large colony of Japanese was admitted to the interior of the state of São Paulo. They brought with them to their new home the culture of silkworms, and a new Brazilian industry was born.

Until the end of the nineteenth century the Brazilian economy was essentially colonial, that is, it produced raw materials which were supplied to the industrial countries of Europe in exchange for manufactured goods. But at the turn of the century, industrialization began and has progressed in accelerating tempo in almost every kind of enterprise. Brazil's enormous reserves of essential raw materials combine with the richness and extent of its soil to insure it an increasingly important role in world affairs.

It is difficult to ascertain today just what is the racial composition of the Brazilian population. Although a census is taken regularly once each decade as in the United States, there are no questions and hence no data on race. The best estimates that are available are based on inductions into the Brazilian Army during World War II. The ratios that are suggested are: whites, 55 per cent; mulattoes (mixture of Negro and white), 26 per cent;

caboclos (mixture of white and Indian), 10 per cent; Negroes, 8 per cent; Indians, 1 per cent.

Few North Americans realize that in Brazil the Western hemisphere has the largest Latin country in the world, not only in area, but also in population. It is larger than France or Italy. Its present population exceeds 45,000,000, about a third of our own, but twice that of Mexico or three times that of Argentina. The population of Brazil has doubled in each of the last two twenty-year periods. This increase is due mainly to improvements in health and to the natural fecundity of the people rather than to immigration. With a land area ten per cent larger than ours and few mountains and deserts, there is no reason why this population trend should not continue indefinitely. German scientists have estimated that the Amazon basin alone will support a population of 800,000,000. As the health and standard of living of the Brazilians are improved, we can expect to see our southern neighbor advance to a position of world leadership equal to if not greater than our own.

It has been a matter of considerable concern to those who know the pride and sensitiveness of the Brazilians to learn of the unfortunate experiences some of them have had in the United States. Brazilian Army, Navy, and Air Force officers were trained in our service schools and fought side by side by our men overseas and along the important lines of communication. Yet they were shamefully dealt with by many North American restaurateurs and hotelkeepers while in this country. Negroes and mulattoes hold commissions in the Brazilian Army as in ours, but are not accustomed to the humiliating treatment which our Negro officers are forced to undergo in many of our cities.

We need realize that if we are to be good neighbors and are to take our proper responsibility as a member of the United Nations, all of us must learn to respect the dignity of those from foreign lands. For that matter, is there any more excuse for the discrimination which is so common against our fellow American citizens who happen to have Negro blood?

Experience has instructed us, that no skill in the science of government has yet been able to discriminate and define, with sufficient certainty, its three great provinces, the legislative, executive, and judiciary; or even the privileges and powers of the different legislative branches. Questions daily occur in the course of practice, which prove the obscurity which reigns in these subjects, and which puzzle the greatest adepts in political science."

James Madison, in *The Federalist*.

Better Minds for Better Politics

*By Arthur T. Vanderbilt **

From *The New York Times Magazine*, Sunday, March 9, 1947. Used with permission.

IN A country given to striking contrasts, the strangest of all, in view of our national history, is that disclosed by our tremendous capacity for patriotism in time of war and our general indifference to public affairs in peace. In an emergency we do not hesitate to sacrifice our greatest treasure—the younger generation—and to mortgage our financial future for decades to come in almost prodigal expenditures for our national defense. Even in wartime, however, we are not really concerned with public affairs at home. We are too busy or too careless to attend to the first duty of a citizen in a democracy—the duty of voting.

In 1938, 38,000,000 people cast their ballots for members of Congress. Four years later, in 1942, eleven months after Pearl Harbor, at a time when we knew we were in for the fight of our lives, only 28,000,000 people voted for members of the war Congress. A bare 54 per cent of the eligible voters were concerned as to who was to represent them in the body which would play a large part in the prosecution of a world-wide war and perhaps in

the making of the peace. In four years there had been a sheer drop of 10,000,000 votes.

Complete statistics on the election of 1946 are not yet available, although estimates reflect an increase of about 6,500,000 over 1942. The vote was, nevertheless, about 3,500,000 short of 1938, notwithstanding the fact that the American people were obviously indulging in one of their favorite political pastimes—"kicking the rascals out." In primary elections, devoted to the vital task of choosing candidates for the political parties, it is notorious that a mere fraction of the vote cast at general elections comes out to the polls.

Most of our citizens do not even know the names of many of the officials they have elected to office. I make this assertion rather confidently from personal experience in a test made in ideal circumstances. One night during a campaign I was impressed into service to hold an audience in Montclair pending the arrival of a distinguished candidate. I suggested to an audience of two or three hundred, made up largely of county committee men and women, election board members, officers of

* Dean of the New York University School of Law.

political clubs, and public office-holders generally—all interested rather actively in politics—that we play a little game. Everyone would raise his hand and then drop it when a question was asked that he couldn't answer.

To insure fair play I announced at the end of the game I would quiz the winners. I then called for the names of the President, the Vice President (a few hands fell), the two United States Senators (more hands went down), their Congressman (not any Congressman from the county, but the Congressman for their district—many more hands fell down), the state Senator, the assemblymen, the sheriff, the county clerk, the surrogate, the county register, the county supervisor, the chosen freeholders (hands were falling like leaves in a hurricane), and the town commissioners.

I didn't have the heart to inquire as to the coroners and the justices of the peace. In this city of Montclair, "the Athens of America," rated by Professor Edward L. Thorndike in his *Your City* as the second-best city in America in which to live, only 2 per cent of these practical politicians had survived the ordeal.

In a national poll conducted recently there was submitted the question, "Would you be willing to have your son enter politics?" Sixty-seven per cent of the people responded that they would not. To a second question, "Do you believe a man

can go into politics and remain honest?", 50 per cent responded that they did not believe it was possible. Now, I do not believe that 50 per cent of our politicians are dishonest, but I do submit that the fact that 50 per cent of our people think so and that 67 per cent of them are unwilling to have their sons enter politics is cause for grave concern.

Lest we smugly think that our educated classes have higher civic standards than the average citizen, let me refer to a study made by *Fortune* a few years ago of the alumni of twelve of our most distinguished preparatory schools. Out of their 67,000 graduates, these schools have produced about 27 United States Senators, one Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and one President.

Shortly after this study appeared, the head of a prominent New England college in a speech at one of the very schools in question attempted to justify this deplorable lack of interest in public life by saying that politics in the United States was such a dirty game that no gentleman could afford to become mired in it. He neglected to mention the only alternative to what he called a "dirty game"—a world-wide cataclysm every quarter century involving the sacrifice of our best blood and the undermining of our civilization.

(Continued on page 23)

Do We Need Public Housing?

*By William O. McGill, Jr.**

A FIRE recently gutted a kitchenette apartment building in Chicago. Five hundred residents of the teeming south-side Negro community were left homeless; three children were killed. It was but one of several fires in that community which killed eleven people within seven days. During the same week, a tenement in upper Manhattan collapsed as a result of a fire in an adjoining building. At least thirteen people were killed. The conscience of America must be stricken as the list of victims grows in all the forgotten neighborhoods of our large cities.

A report of the State Housing Board of Illinois reveals that at least eighty per cent of the farm dwellings in that state are substandard. They lack running water, inside toilets, private baths, electric lighting. More than one fourth of them are in need of major repairs. More than 1,000 young women in the State College of Washington were asked if they wanted to marry a farmer. Nine out of ten suggested that they would be willing to marry a farmer if it were possible to avoid the major inconveniences and the unnecessary drudgery so often a part of farm life.

For several years the major de-

nominations of the country have been engaged in developing "Crusades for Christ," or "Spiritual Advances," with an aim toward the development of stewardship, evangelism, and Christian outreach. One of the central features of all such programs is the spiritual undergirding of home and family life.

No Churchman would deny the Christian conviction of the dignity of work. Nor would he object to the development of the "family altar" and prayer period. None would dare suggest that fun and fellowship together ought not be a part of every family's life. But these features of a wholesome family life do not flourish in the slums of the cities, towns, and villages; they do not flourish and grow strong and beautiful in the substandard dwellings of our farms.

A kitchenette apartment is not a small apartment designed for newlyweds with gleaming kitchen, intimate breakfast nook, tile bath, and living room with roll-away bed. Usually, it is one room which originally was part of a large apartment. Four or five people may live in it, with the former closet serving as kitchen. Each family on the floor uses the same bath that once served one family. The beds are cots or pallets; possibly there is a chair or

* Minister, Marlboro Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Illinois.

two. The basic desire of every member of the family is not for prayer but to get out of "this cell."

The process of Christian nurture, the development of the Christian home, is at least associated with the kind of home in which the Christian faith is to be developed. Sociological surveys agree that the breakdown of character, the incidence of crime and delinquency, and the general retreat from the farm, are all related to the housing situation in the slums and in rural areas.

There is in sight a possibility of relief. With some alterations, the National Housing Bill defeated in the 79th Congress has been resubmitted to the 80th Congress, as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, S. 866.

As at present drafted, S. 866 provides for the co-ordination of the various Federal housing agencies. This has been temporarily the case, under Executive Order 9070 which will terminate soon. The co-ordination of housing policies would be achieved through the National Housing Commission, including the National Housing Administrator (with his administrative staff), the heads of the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Federal Public Housing Administration, as well as representatives of the Departments of the Treasury and of Agriculture, the Veterans' Administration, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and any other agencies

which the President might designate.

Families of moderate income and veterans are aided by a liberalization of the regulations for present home insurance agencies. Lending powers are expanded and insurance protection is improved; provision is made for the lapsing of debt service payments because of unemployment or other misfortune; the FHA is permitted to cope with higher construction costs.

Middle-income families have been a virtual no man's land between private and public housing activities. Homes in the five to six thousand dollar class are to be insured up to 95 per cent of cost, for a maximum of thirty years, at a maximum interest of 4 per cent. These represent an increased insured proportion over a longer term, at a lower rate of interest than under present FHA regulations. Builders will be encouraged to participate in home-building of this type by issuance of mortgage-insurance commitments up to 85 per cent of cost. Private building interests will be assisted by liberal aid for rental or mutually owned housing projects. Estimated losses and administrative expenses of FHA will presumably be covered by all the premiums collected by that agency.

An additional contemplated self-sustaining program of FHA, by the collection of appropriate premium charges, will be rental housing for families of moderate income. Insti-

tutions and other large-scale investors are to be guaranteed a return of $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 per cent plus 2 per cent amortization per year, until 15 per cent of the original investment remains unamortized. These provisions contemplate the development of a billion-dollar insurance program.

In order to assist private enterprise in the assembly and preparation of land for redevelopment, Federal and local grants and contributions are contemplated. The local authorities are required to share about equally in the acquiring of the land. Safeguards are also erected for the relocation of the displaced families from the redevelopment area. With somewhat more than half a billion dollars in Federal grants and loans, it should be possible for the program to acquire a billion and a half dollars' worth of land.

For those whose income is so low that even the improved aids provided in this bill cannot enable private enterprise to serve them, provision is made for low-rent public housing. Federal contributions for the relief of rental payments shall not exceed \$105,000,000 per year (after a four-year period during which it shall be graduated at the rate of \$26,400,000 per year), for not more than 45 years. The public-housing program would not cover more than 500,000 units.

A generous program for rural housing on farms which are poten-

tially capable of producing an adequate income are similar to FHA regulations, although administered through the Department of Agriculture. Farms not potentially capable of producing an adequate annual income are to be able to receive special loans and grants for minor improvements to meet minimum health needs. Rural nonfarm housing is to receive assistance through special adaptation of FHA.

There are also far-reaching provisions for technical research, studies, and surveys, which should aid in the production of better houses at reduced costs, with data being made available as to housing needs, demand, and supply.

Finally, provision is made for ultimate disposition of permanent Federally owned housing to local public agencies who will give preference to servicemen and veterans.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill will not be a means of salvation; it will be subject to all the weaknesses with which political bills are burdened. But it will create a possibility for better living status for every American family. It should prove to be an opportunity for the Christian Church to aid in the development of wholesome family life and to promote Christian nurture and Christian experience within the home. It should be supported in conferences, districts, presbyteries, synods, and national pronouncements, as well as in local Churches.

Postwar Chaos and Our Church

By Conrad Hoffmann *

"The Church today is in the unhappy situation that, while convinced of the power of the Gospel to meet the needs of the times, she is continually haunted by the memory of her own omissions, disloyalties, and betrayals of Christ. Only as in humility before God and in contrition before men she confesses her guilt can the burden of unacknowledged sin be removed by God's forgiveness, and she be liberated to bear effective witness to her Lord before all men."—C.H.

THE World Council of Churches has adopted for its first Assembly meeting, to take place in Amsterdam in 1948, the theme "The Disorder of Man and the Design of God." In Europe today and no doubt in the Far East one is well aware of the disorder of man, so much so that it is difficult to believe in the existence of any design of God. Indeed, it is easy to become skeptical about the possibility of a Christian way of life. There are so many evidences of the un-Christlike character of our modern and postwar world. One is conscious of how largely the Church has failed in the realm of labor and economics. The ascendancy of communism looms for many as a result. Similarly one is made conscious of the many failures in the realm of race relations, especially with reference to the Jews. The same is true in the realm of sex among the armies of occupation.

As one endeavors to analyze the reasons for such failures two major conclusions are reached. First is the

policy of appeasement, of which the Church so often has been guilty largely because the Church and Christians are not sure of their faith. They make compromises which may prove as disastrous spiritually as the Munich appeasement policies proved disastrous internationally. Our faith is not unequivocal. Secondly, we have tried to worship God and mammon and one cannot do that and hope to win for God.

As one returns from the distress, destruction, and disruption of Europe to the relative abundance, comfort, and ease of America, one is confronted with two forms of materialism: in Europe the materialism of poverty, in America the materialism of plenty. The European materialism of poverty manifests itself largely in the brute struggle for survival. In the American materialism of plenty there is much selfishness and splendid isolationism. The latter is undoubtedly the most vitiating and dangerous. America has not suffered, therefore she cannot enter fully and sympathetically into the suffering of Europe or the Far East.

It was in a former air-raid shelter

* Director, International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, of the International Missionary Council, New York and London.

at the railway station in Hamburg, now used as a bunker—where one saw over 2,000 Germans crowded together, seeking warmth and shelter for the night—that one found real fellowship and community. Suffering and want were the catalytic agents that welded and fused high and low, rich and poor, into a real fellowship.

The chaos of man's contriving! On all sides one experiences almost complete disruption of normal life. Transportation facilities are completely upset. There are virtually no taxis, few private cars and fewer autobuses; streetcar service is poor, train service poorer, with the available rolling stock worn out and causing, variably, late arrival of trains. There is hunger, nakedness, and freezing, and many are virtually homeless.

Some Germans are sure of God's judgment, sure that "one's sins will find one out." Having lost everything, some Germans are sure there is absolutely no hope left apart from God. Many are conscious of guilt—*Schuldbewusstsein*—of which Nie-moeller has made us so conscious. There is real danger in this, for some Germans are so filled with self-reproach that they have become helpless and impotent.

No enemy could have wished for worse punishment than has actually befallen Germany and the Germans. It has been, and is, remorseless and relentless. On the other hand, one

need not be pro-German or sentimental to have compassion for the Germans, but one would have to be brutally merciless not to have compassion. That does not mean we should condone the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis. In a moral society such as we claim to have, criminals' guilt of crime must be punished, but it is important that we punish those who are guilty and not also those who are innocent. And no intelligent person will claim that all Germans were, or are, guilty. Victor Gollancz has provided conclusive evidence that not only were many Germans innocent, but many also actually opposed Hitler. Such opponents invariably were crushed and went the way of many thousands of Jews in the concentration camps.

It is evil self-righteousness to say "it serves them right" or that they "got what was coming to them," or that "they started it" and now are getting "a taste of their own medicine." We must adopt, even on behalf of the enemy, the Good Samaritan principle of live and help live if we would emerge from the present chaos, safeguard civilization, and save the world from further and more terrible chaos. To save ourselves, we must save our enemy, even the German people. To do that will require the grace of God.

We protested against Hitler's anti-Semitism, and it was right to do so. If only we had been louder in our protests! Today we bemoan

the lot of the surviving Jews, but urge Britain to open up Palestine for them, largely because we are unwilling to admit any of them to our own land.

Paul Vogt, of Zürich, preached a sermon using God's question to Cain, "Where is Abel thy brother?" and Cain's reply, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Applying this to Western Christendom in relation to the 6,000,000 Jewish men, women, and children who perished and were exterminated, Christendom has failed to be its brother's keeper.

We think of the more than 600,000 displaced persons who are crowded into Germany in the American and British zones. They are homeless. They must be housed and fed. To date, UNRRA has cared for them. But it is a demoralizing existence.

There is very little for them to do. Their future is uncertain. In one camp visited, some 7,000 were housed in a former German Army barracks. Here were some 1,300 children. Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, Jugoslavs—all had fled from Russian occupation, fearing exile to Siberia. Inactive, they wait, month after month, for some solution. They fear to return to their homelands. On the other hand, no one else wants them. If only some generous plan permitting immigration into other lands on a pro-rata basis could be effected, their problem could be quickly and rather easily solved. But most of us refuse

to be our brothers' keeper. Is the Church able to arouse the Christian conscience to action?

There are some 150,000 Jews in displaced persons internment centers. Their lot is even worse, for they have the added misfortune of being Jews as well as displaced persons. "Unwanted persons" would be a truer definition. Force of circumstances rather than conviction as Zionists makes them wish to go to Palestine. Because of rigid immigration laws everywhere, Palestine seems their only hope of escape. But behind Palestine are the great oil reserves for the control of which Russia, Britain, and the United States conspire and maneuver. Thus sponsorship of political Zionism as opposed to Arabian claims may easily serve as a spark to start a new international conflict, if not actual war.

Thus the disorder of man, prevalent in the postwar world of Europe, cries for the design of God to become active and operative and to solve the chaos of man's contriving. But realization of God's design is conditioned by and contingent on the Church and on the men and women which the Church inspires with obedience to God's will, without reservation. In this sense, the peace and good will which mankind so universally desires are conditioned on a vital Church. Such a Church is the aim of the New Life Movement on which our Church has embarked.

Facts About Mixed Marriages

A Reprint *

THERE is nothing to keep young people of other Churches from falling in love with Roman Catholics. They associate freely, as they ought to do, in recreational and social life, and to some extent in school. So far as the individuals themselves are concerned, many are well suited to each other in character and personality. Their spiritual ideals also may be reasonably harmonious so that they believe there is nothing to prevent their marriage. Even though they may be dimly aware that there are inevitable difficulties in the path ahead, they are inclined to feel their love is so all-important that any problems that arise will take care of themselves.

It is not realistic, however, to make such an assumption. The facts, which cannot be ignored, are that an alarmingly large proportion of such marriages fail in disillusionment and heartbreak.

A study, *Youth Tell Their Story*, by the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., with Howard M. Bell as author, reported a poll of 12,000 young people as to the religious connections of their parents and whether or not they were living together. The results were

striking. Where both parents were Protestant, 6.8 per cent of the homes were broken. Where both were Roman Catholic, 6.4 per cent were broken. Of mixed marriages, 15.2 per cent were broken. Where there was no religious connection, 16.7 per cent of the homes were broken. Childless marriages were excluded by the nature of the study.

Official Roman Catholic Stand

Pope Pius XI in his encyclical letter, "*Casti Connubii*," characterizing mixed marriages as rash and heedless, goes on to say: ¹ "This attitude of the Church to mixed marriages appears in many of her documents, all of which are summed up in the Code of Canon Law: ² 'Everywhere and with the greatest strictness the Church forbids marriages between baptized persons, one of whom is a Catholic and the other a member of a schismatical or heretical sect; and if there is, in addition, the danger of the falling away of the Catholic party and the perversion of the children, such a marriage is forbidden also by the divine law.' If the Church occasionally on account of circumstances does not refuse to grant a dispensation from these strict laws (provided that the

* Condensed from *If I Marry a Roman Catholic*. Pamphlet may be obtained from the Commission on Marriage and the Home, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. 5 cents.

¹ "*Casti Connubii*," Sections 82 and 85.

² *Cod. iur. can.*, c. 1060.

divine law remains intact and the dangers above mentioned are provided against by suitable safeguards), it is unlikely that the Catholic party will not suffer some detriment from such a marriage. . . .

"Assuredly, also, there will be wanting that close union of spirit which as it is the sign and mark of the Church of Christ, so also should be the sign of Christian wedlock, its glory and adornment. For, where there exists diversity of mind, truth, and feeling, the bond of union of mind and heart is wont to be broken, or at least weakened. From this comes the danger lest the love of man and wife grows cold and the peace and happiness of family life, resting as it does on union of hearts, be destroyed."

Important Differences

A Roman Catholic interprets marriage as one of the sacraments of his Church. He is taught that ³ "a Catholic can be validly married only before a Catholic priest." The Protestant Christian thinks about marriage just as reverently, whether he calls it a sacrament or uses some other term. He thinks of it as instituted by God and perfected by God's blessing. He holds that it is God who joins the man and woman together by his grace and through sacred pledges to each other.

Marriage is an undertaking of two persons with God and with each other. In solemnizing it the minister acts as a representative of God and of the Church. He is also an agent of the State for this particular purpose. The Protestant recognizes the authority both of the Church and of the State but repudiates the claim of one Church that its priests have exclusive authority over his marriage when he marries a Roman Catholic.

Christian marriage is both a condition and a process. Its validity rests upon God's blessing of an undertaking in which the man and woman promise lifelong fidelity to each other in God's name and with his grace. For its happiness everything depends upon the way in which the two persons work out this mutual dedication throughout their lives. Their marriage succeeds in proportion as they achieve rich fellowship, creative co-operation, and a complete family life.

Standing for One's Own Faith

A Protestant who plans to marry a Roman Catholic must take a course in Roman Catholic doctrine and must sign the following antenuptial agreement: ⁴

I, the undersigned, not a member of the Catholic Church, wishing to contract marriage with _____, a member of the Catholic Church,

(Continued on page 26)

³ *Why Not a Mixed Marriage?* p. 11, by John A. O'Brien, Ph.D., LL.D. Paulist Press, N. Y.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

There Is a Law

Mr. Tanimoto was hurrying into Hiroshima, the City of Destruction, fearing for his family and Church. "He was the only person making his way into the city: hundreds were fleeing, and every one of them seemed to be hurt in some way. . . . Skin hung from their faces and hands. Others, because of pain, held their arms up as if carrying something. . . . Many, although injured themselves, supported relatives who were worse off. . . . As a Christian [Mr. Tanimoto] was filled with compassion . . . and as a Japanese he was overwhelmed by the shame of being unhurt. . . . All the way, he overtook dreadfully burned and lacerated people, and in his guilt he said . . . : 'Excuse me for having no burden like yours.' " ¹

"Excuse Me for Having No Burden like Yours"

We have no desire to contribute to the controversy on the use of atomic bombs on Japan. Twice, men have loosed this terror, and scores of thousands as innocent as the child at your side have died, and other scores of thousands have been maimed unspeakably. It must not happen again! It may not if the Christians of this nation recognize the law of Christ that requires us to bear one another's burdens. The one unhurt Japanese in Hiroshima who, from John Hersey's account, cried out in shame that he had no burdened or wounded body, rebukes our leaders who seek exemption for America in this broken world. We are grateful the United States has already advanced some \$12,000,000,000 to restore the world. The Congressmen who in April voted to reduce by 150 million dollars our 350-million-dollar aid to Italy, Greece, Hungary, Austria, Poland, and China (military aid not provided!) do not represent America.

This nation under God has the means and has shown the desire to bind up the nations' wounds. But there are trends now developing, which, if not reversed, will cause any good we have done to "be evil spoken of." The constant exercise of judgment by Christians is needed now, *for nothing is settled right unless the "right" people keep it settled.*

The fate of the world is largely in American hands. Compassionate, courageous, wise action by a Christian America can lead the nations to the rehabilitation and restoration of the world. The full production of our farms and factories is required by an impoverished world. The life of the

¹ From *Hiroshima*, by John Hersey. Copyrighted, 1946, by the F.-R. Publishing Corporation. Reprinted from *The New Yorker*, August 31, 1946.

ke These

nations will also depend upon the full exercise of our faith and wisdom as we employ the sacred trust of atomic power. Our first appearance as trustee of atomic power shook the relations between governments to the very foundations. The wise offer of the United States to share this enormous power for good and evil with the world should greatly reassure the nations. The debate upon the Baruch plan has served a good purpose in proving the conditions of the plan both reasonable and essential. It promises the exploitation with security of this immense new power for a prodigious advance in human happiness. The new power from the atom offers benefits to mankind beyond anything gained through the discovery of steam or electric power. We are hardly even aware of the promise of atomic power because of the threat of the atomic bomb. And a valid fear it is until we have an effective world atomic development authority. Russia's policy has greatly delayed progress in making this new power the servant of man. Instead of moving vigorously and hopefully to employ atomic energy for mankind, we are left holding the bomb as a world cowers in fear.

Left Holding the Bomb

It appears that we have three courses from which we may choose. One, we can place all we know and have of atomic power in the control of a world authority when all nations are prepared to subscribe to the conditions of this organization. Two, the United States might try to keep the secret of the bomb and atomic power. Three, we can proceed now under an international organization with those nations that are willing to accept the conditions of the Baruch plan, leaving the way open for others to join the authority when ready to accept the plan's conditions. The United States wisely seeks to follow the first course. The Russian-American stalemate has to date "vetoed" it. The second course has been rejected as the road to ruin for us all by scientists and competent statesmen. However, by virtue of Russian recalcitrance and our negative action this second dangerous course is the one we are on. It is time we considered the desirability of following the third course while there is yet time. Obviously, there is a limit to the time we can wait for Russia to join the nations in setting up the world authority. If we must choose between holding the sacred trust alone or sharing it with the nations ready to accept the Baruch plan, the greatest safety for all lies in the third course. We may soon have to proceed with the organization of the atomic development authority under the provisions of the Baruch plan, with

Russia if possible, but without Russia if necessary, extending our continuing invitation to the Soviet to join as was done in the case of German economic unification.

Without the world atomic development authority, Russia's security, as well as the world's, will be increasingly imperiled as the time approaches when it will be reasonable to fear that other nations have "stocked" the bomb. At that time a repetition of the irresponsible and inflammatory attacks made on Russia, by some of our Congressmen, during the debate on the Truman policy, could precipitate the atomic war. The state of the nations' nerves with two nations fingering the trigger will not permit such excitement.

It appears that the development of such an explosive situation, which would make war almost inevitable, would be checked by proceeding under the Baruch plan, without Russia if necessary. Strategically, our position would be improved. Certainly, the likelihood of attack by an aggressor nation would be reduced since the possible wider dispersion around the world of defensive weapons and A bombs would give the potential aggressor little hope of mounting an annihilating attack. And as that possibility fades, the hope of peace brightens. It is not likely that any nations would pull down the pillars of our civilization's temple with the clear knowledge that her own destruction is also a certainty. Aggressors do not seek martyrdom.

Absolute Power Corrupts

We have asked the United Nations to share the burden and promise of atomic power. This action must be pressed before our power corrupts us and destroys the world. The absolute power exercised by the possessor of the absolute weapon is too great a responsibility for one nation to bear. We already have alarming signs of deterioration in the judgment of political leaders and groups, which nourishes a hysteria that has frightening possibilities. The most recent evidence appears in the address of Senator Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, before the American Legion, printed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* of May 6, advising that the United States must go its way "with an atomic bomb in one hand and the spirit of the Cross in the other." God forgive the "wild tongues that have not Thee in awe" and guard us from the counsels of such madness! What then must we do to be saved? We must repent and "bring forth fruits worthy of repentance." Our place is at the side of Mr. Tanimoto in penitence before Hiroshima, and the world—filled with compassion, overwhelmed by the shame of being unhurt, and in guilt saying, "Excuse me for having no burden like yours."—P.N.P.

WORLD ORDER

World Order Conferences

The Church in this supreme moment of history seeks to instruct the mind and stir the conscience of men to the full service of God's will in Christ. In order to contribute to such vital study and action in world order the Protestant Churches, under the direction of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, have planned another series of World Order Conferences throughout the nation. The conferences, starting with meetings in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island in the spring of 1947, will be resumed in the fall and continued until all the states are reached. The S.E.A. chairmen and secretaries of the presbyteries and presbyterials, and representative young people from the United Christian Youth Movement, are accredited to these regional conferences from our denomination. During the regional conferences on world order, time is given for each denomination to meet with its own members, the opportunity being used to present the denominational leaders with the program dealing with areas of tensions in Christian living, including such concerns as alcohol, industrial relations, and race.

The teams for the conferences are made up of several resource people, including: (1) a representative of the State Department, an expert on foreign economic policy; (2) a nuclear physicist familiar with international atomic policy; (3) a historian competent in matters of European settlements; and (4) a leader of the ecumenical or missionary movement. S.E.A. secretaries and staff members of the co-operating denominations are interpreting the program and counseling with their leaders on the prosecution of the conferences on into the local Church.

Four special topics for group discussion are the peace settlement in Europe and Asia, disarmament and the control of atomic energy, human rights and trustee-

ship, international economic co-operation. A syllabus has been prepared to serve as a guide for these group discussions and also for use in the follow-up conferences in the particular Churches. The conferences are divided into four groups of four sessions each, the leaders being used so that every group will have the message of each leader. The conference in the late morning of the first day continues through the afternoon, evening, and morning of the second day. This gives adequate time for the four major conferences and for the meetings of the denominational groups. Selected visual aids are presented at the dinner hour or in the early evening. Mass meetings are addressed either by the nuclear physicist on the team or by the leader of the ecumenical movement.

The conferences are not planned with the hope of offering the final solution to all of the problems that confront us in world order. We do seek to strengthen and extend the influence of intelligent Christian opinion on the course of the nation. This influence has been a most decisive factor in some of the most important decisions thus far made in the establishment of the United Nations. We are confident that this series of conferences will contribute to the support sought in the words of Sumner Welles. "Without the full, unflinching and constructive support of the American people, the United Nations cannot become that strong and vital agency for peace and progress which is so imperatively required for the welfare of all peoples. . . . It is in this field, it seems to me, that the Churches of America can so greatly assist the people of the United States to obtain enlightenment as to the nature and the scope of the moral obligations which rest upon them."¹

¹ *Christianity Takes a Stand*, edited by Bishop William Scarlett. Permission granted by Penguin Book, Inc.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Public Housing in Peril

Senate Banking Committee by a close vote of 7 to 6 agreed to report favorably the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, S.866, to the floor of the Senate. An even stiffer fight is expected in the House on the companion bill, H.R. 2523, still in the Banking and Currency Committee.

Before the Senate Committee, testimony lined up as follows:

Favoring the Bill

Senators Taft, Ellender, and Pepper; Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Brannan; Omar B. Ketchum, National Legislative Service for the Veterans of Foreign Wars; F. H. La Guardia, Chairman, National Fair Rent Committee; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., American Veterans' Committee; Boris Shishkin, A. F. of L.; William Nicholas, C I O; Edward Weinfeld, National Public Housing Conference; George W. Welsh, representing U. S. Conference of Mayors; Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas; Dr. Beverly M. Boyd, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Miss Helen Hall, representing various social welfare organizations; Dr. Robert C. Weaver, representing various Negro organizations; and Samuel J. Rodman, General Homes Corporation.

Opposing the Bill

J. H. Deckman, National Home and Property Owners Foundation, Washington; George M. Engler, National Association of Apartment Owners, Baltimore; George West, United States Chamber of Commerce; James W. Rouse, Mortgage Bankers Association of America; Earl Teckmeyer, Indianapolis, Indiana; Paul Bestor, Vice President, Prudential Insurance Company of America; George Gove, Vice President, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Herbert U. Nelson, Executive Vice President, National Association of Real Estate Boards; Douglas Whitlock, Chairman, the Building Products Institute; Abner H. Ferguson, attorney, United States Savings & Loan League; Edward R. Carr, President, National Association of Home Builders; Rufus Lusk, of Washington; and C. H. Ellingston, Chairman of Federal Legislation Committee of National Savings and Loan League.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America has expressed concern about housing conditions in this country since 1910. A definite position favoring public housing was taken in 1937 and reaffirmed in 1945.

With our economic situation in such a questionable state, a large public housing program could be one of the stabilizing factors. Moreover, many families are today sharing living quarters because they do not have the resources to rent or purchase available private housing that is priced beyond their reach.

This bill would enable private housing to be lower in price because of the financing factors it includes. Another very attractive feature is its provision of a long-needed solution to the problem of rural housing of both farm, and nonfarm types.

The content of the bill is found in the article "Do We Need Public Housing?" page 8, in this issue.

Action Needed

Write your two Senators and Representative. *Your letters are extremely important.*

Farm

S.66, H.R. 655, H.R. 656 call for elimination of the 160-acre limitation on Government-irrigated lands. This would result in further elimination of family-type farms.

Action Needed

Write Chairmen, House and Senate Committees on Public Lands, Washington, D.C.

Displaced Persons

H.R. 2910 (Stratton) would authorize the admission of 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years "outside of quotas"; all such persons to be subject to other immigration laws. This bill is supported by the National Citizens Committee for Displaced Persons. See SOCIAL PROGRESS, page 23, March, 1947.

Action Needed

Write Congressman Frank Fellows (Me.), Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, Washington, D.C.

Indians

Bills H.R. 2739, 2878, 2639, 2958 propose emancipation of Indians from Federal regulation. H.R. 2572 proposes repeal of Indian liquor laws.

Action Needed

Write Congressman Richard J. Welch, Chairman, House Public Lands Committee, Washington, D.C.

Discrimination in Employment

S. 984 (Ives) would establish a National Commission whose function would be to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry. This is a revised FEPC bill, and it has the support of the National Committee.

Action Needed

Write Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Abolish Poll Tax

S. 94, to abolish the poll tax, has support of the National Committee to Abolish Poll Tax, but seems to have little chance to be reported out of committee.

Action Needed

Write Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chairman, Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, Washington, D.C.

Reported for Information**N.L.R.B.**

The refusal of the Senate Committee to give the National Labor Relations Board supplementary 1947 appropriation points to low appropriation in the next fiscal year. This is also related to the current confused labor picture in Washington.

New Public Laws

Up until April 5, the 80th Congress has passed and the President has signed thirty public laws. It is interesting, in view of the total legislative programs, to observe that all of these are on minor matters. For example, Public Law No. 2 permits alcohol plants to continue making sugars and sirups until April 30, 1948.

The Minimum Price of Peace

(Continued from page 2)

by the United Nations or by any member of it. The existence of such fortifications would indicate that the fortifying power had not abandoned the possibility of war.

3. *General reduction of all national forces to an agreed level calculated on the basis of maintenance of internal order.* Nominally it is on this level that the security forces of Italy, Japan, and other countries are to be determined. The disarmament General MacArthur praised highly in Japan will by his own statement be a blessing if extended to the world.

4. *International control of atomic energy for peace, not war.* The Acheson-Lilienthal report reaches the conclusion that there must be international control over the entire process of the production of atomic energy and offers suggestions to that end, suggestions incorporated in the Baruch proposals. Three features are essential: the international authority must have power to plan and to inspect; that power must be over individuals concerned in producing energy as well as over Governments; not subject to veto by any one nation.

5. *Specific provision for international security.* The best plan yet offered is Ely Culbertson's Quota Principle. This is denied by many sincere pacifists who believe that universal disarmament is the sole immediate essential for peace. I should like to agree, but I think they overlook the fact that a disarmed world without any international security force would put a terrible temptation in the way of a nation crazy for power or possessed of a messianic complex.

We have also not arrived at the stage in which nations will tolerate an international armed force recruited by general enlistment without regard to national origin. Granted the difficulty of agreeing on proportionate ratios, it is the one way any security force subject to the authority

of an international organization can at present safely be formed.

Mr. Culbertson now believes it wise to accept the general framework of the United Nations including its recognition of the power of the Big Five. He writes: "The Quota Force method . . . establishes an independent armed force capable of suppressing any aggression, and yet it retains for each major power the ability to defend itself [if the international organization should fall into the hands of a world aggressor] with its own armament. In this manner we can have an adequate international police force without the danger of world tyranny."¹

The Security Council in control of this world peace force cannot itself be subject to the veto power of each of the Big Five. Mr. Culbertson therefore proposes two amendments to the San Francisco charter. The first would provide that the "central authority" [the Security Council and the World Court] "must give fair representation to all nations and act by majority vote in matters involving aggression or preparation for aggression"; the second would provide that only "strictly limited, well-defined powers to control scientific weapons and suppress aggression" should be delegated by the member states to the Security Council, and that these powers must be interpreted by the world court.

The Culbertson plan is an interim arrangement but one that will facilitate development of the moral, economic, and political factors upon which a desirable world government depends. In the field it covers, this plan, like the Baruch plan in its field, is encouraging evidence that men can think constructively concerning problems so desperately urgent that time does not permit achievement of Utopia.²

¹ For details of this plan see Mr. Culbertson's most recent book, *Must We Fight Russia?* The John C. Winston Company.

² *Must We Fight Russia?* was published before the Baruch proposals. Later Mr. Culbertson incorporated the Baruch proposal as a point in his plan for United Nations' Reform.

Better Minds for Better Politics

(Continued from page 7)

The result of this neglect of responsibility for government by our educated citizens is strikingly reflected in a study by Dean William E. Mosher, of Syracuse University, of the membership of the county committees of the two political parties in eighteen large cities of New York State, New York City being excluded by reason of its peculiar problems.

In these eighteen cities 55 per cent of the district leaders had not gone beyond grammar school. Only 12 per cent were college men and women, college men and women being defined as including anyone who ever went to college, whether or not a graduate, and whether the institution was a college of liberal arts or a veterinary school. Of the collegians two fifths were lawyers. I am not disparaging the leaders who never went beyond grammar school. Many of them, I am sure, are honest and capable. I am simply pointing out that our college graduates as a class have not been sustaining the burden of public leadership, either at the top or at the bottom of the political ladder.

Such lack of interest in public affairs and of ignorance of our political leaders must make us consider how long our increasingly complicated system of government, which depends so largely on wise public opinion and active citizen participation, can retain its traditional character of encouraging the maximum of personal freedom and individual initiative consistent with the general welfare. Surely nobody doubts that a democratic, representative form of government is superior to any brand of totalitarianism. Surely everyone knows that no government, especially our own, is automatic.

The causes of our lack of interest as citizens in our Government and for our failure to participate actively in politics are many. We live in an age of automatic

machinery and we thoughtlessly liken government to a machine, which we fondly hope will work automatically, though we know when we stop to think about it that every liberty we enjoy has had to be fought for on the field of battle, in the legislative halls, or in the courts.

Vast numbers of citizens are preoccupied with personal affairs. Many of them contemplate public service—at some more convenient season. If they ever get around to it they are likely to find themselves out of touch with the spirit of the times, eager to be helpful but unable to adjust themselves to the differences between things they thought they knew and things as they actually are.

Politics is an art as well as a science, and it takes time as well as practice to acquire an art. Many natural leaders of public affairs too are engaged in industries where participation in politics is taboo. As the field of government expands and more institutions are subjected to public regulation, the number of men of ability who will be deemed ineligible for public success will unfortunately multiply greatly. The percentage of natural leaders of public affairs thus withdrawn from the arena of politics is much greater than one may at first imagine.

The greatest obstacle to active participation in politics, however, is the attitude of people generally toward their Government and the men who run it. Even though experts, such as Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, assure us that there is less direct dishonesty in politics than in business, the average citizen is still suspicious of politicians. Certain it is that the politician may expect to be libeled and slandered. The ordinary man flinches at the thought of having his actions, his motives, his character, misunderstood in the family circle, by his friends, or the public, but the genuine citizen will wisely conclude that the pin-pricks of partisanship are a small price

to pay compared with those the citizen-soldier is called upon to endure in war.

True, everyone who can read his daily newspaper must see that we are living in an age of politics in which accurate information and wise interpretation of it, and skill in its use, both in respect to foreign countries and our own are essential to the preservation of the peace and to the safeguarding of the highways of progress. Everyone knows too that our knowledge and use of the physical sciences have outstripped our progress in the social sciences. The same genius which has remade American civilization, through science and technology, has also given us the atomic bomb, the rocket, and the undisclosed terrors of bacterial and chemical warfare by which to destroy civilization.

These statements have become commonplace, but what is not commonplace is that our vast educational system—on which the American people have pinned their faith—is again falling down on its primary job of training citizens for their duties of leading public opinion and of developing wise, efficient political leaders.

I say again, because there can be no doubt in the light of the history of the twentieth century, that the warning of World War I was lost on the educational world. I say again, because there is no evidence of any conviction reflected in the many addresses, reports, and books on higher education which have flooded the country in the past five years that the colleges are aware that it is their primary responsibility to train citizens—in the world emergency of today a responsibility transcending all other obligations.

This obligation rests on college presidents, faculties, and boards of trustees, superintendents of schools, teachers, and curriculum makers generally. Colleges and universities in particular owe the country the obligation of undertaking the work of simplifying and streamlining our complex system of government and of bringing it in line with the needs of the times.

The most constructive force in this field is the ever increasing interest of students in the social sciences. Their instinct is sound. Unfortunately, much of the force of this constructive impulse is lost in part in some colleges through uninformed and uninspired teaching, in part for the reasons we have been discussing, but chiefly because there is no readily accessible road to political activity.

The need of an agency to guide young men and women in the ways of active citizenship has long been felt by educators and by members of the legal profession. To meet this need a Citizenship Clearing House has been proposed. It would be manned by college instructors in government and would endeavor to introduce young graduates to honest and intelligent leaders of their own party, each in his or her own town. If no such leaders were available, it would try to bring groups of young people of each party together.

Next it would aid these young people in organizing local discussion groups to debate—regardless of party—local, state, national, and international problems of current interest. It would also publish a small, informal magazine recording their successes and failures, and without taking sides on any issue would endeavor to point out sound and honest methods of citizenship organization. It would emphasize what the individual can do to improve government. Finally, when technical advice in local or state government is desired, it would put them in touch with experts.

Such a Citizenship Clearing House is being planned by New York University School of Law, through its Legal Research Bureau. Committees from the American Political Science Association are studying the project with a view to co-operating, and a committee from the Junior Bar Conference of the American Bar Association has been appointed to lend its aid. It is hoped that the Citizenship Clearing House may be the spark to fire the native political aspirations of young college graduates.

Sanctuary

*"I delight to do thy will, O my God;
Yea, thy law is within my heart."*

Call to Worship:

Leader: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,"

People: "Nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful."

Leader: "But his delight is in the law of the Lord,"

People: "And in his law doth he meditate day and night."

Invocation:

God, we are not wild beasts;

We find no worth in bones; skeletons cannot build homes.

We are Thy sons, born to live with love toward all our breathing fellows.

We need clear vision, that, lifting thoughts from goods to the Good,

The way to plant God's dreams upon earth may be revealed.

—Harold C. Case.¹

Hymn:

"O Where Are Kings and Empires Now."

Reflections:

"All the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes; but Jehovah weigheth the spirits."
—*Prov. 16:2.*

"When we pass from the works of nature, in which all the delineations are perfectly accurate, and appear to be otherwise only from the imperfection of the eye which surveys them, to the institutions of man, in which the obscurity arises as well from the object itself, as from the organ by which it is contemplated; we must perceive the necessity of moderating still further our expectations and hopes from the efforts of human sagacity."

—James Madison, in *The Federalist*.

Prayer:

"O Christ, thou has bidden us pray for the coming of thy Father's kingdom, in which his righteous will shall be done on earth. We have treasured thy words, but we have forgotten their meaning, and thy great hope has grown dim in thy Church. We bless thee for the inspired souls of all ages who saw afar the shining city of God, and by faith left the profit of the present to follow their vision. We rejoice that today the hope of these lonely hearts is becoming the clear faith of millions. Help us, O Lord, in the courage of faith to seize what has now come so near, that the glad day of God may dawn at last. As we have mastered Nature that we might gain wealth, help us now to master the social relations of mankind that we may gain justice and a world of brothers. For what shall it profit our nation if it gain numbers and riches, and lose the sense of the living God and the joy of human brotherhood?"

—Walter Rauschenbusch, in *Prayers of the Social Awakening*.

¹ Pastor, Elm Park Methodist Church, Scranton, Pennsylvania. From *101 Prayers for Peace*. Copyright, The Westminster Press. Used with permission.

Facts About Mixed Marriages

(Continued from page 15)

propose to do so with the understanding that the marriage bond thus is indissoluble, except by death. I promise on my word and honor that I will not in any way hinder or obstruct the said, _____, in the exercise of _____ religion and that all children of either sex born of our marriage shall be baptized and educated in the Catholic faith and according to the teaching of the Catholic Church, even though the said _____ should be taken away by death. I further promise that I will marry _____ only according to the marriage rite of the Catholic Church; that I will not, either before or after the Catholic ceremony, present myself with _____ for marriage before a civil magistrate or minister of the Gospel.

Signature _____

Signed in the presence of Rev. _____

Place _____ Date _____

The Catholic member must sign a pledge for the baptism and education in the Roman Catholic religion of any children born to the union and must promise to do all in his power to bring about the conversion of the Protestant member.

When the demand is made that a Christian of another Church sign an agreement that any children of a proposed marriage shall be reared as Roman Catholics it would be equally fair for him to present a counterproposal that they be reared in his faith. There should be an understanding that when children reach a suitable age they shall be free to determine their own faith in order that their religious allegiance may be a matter of inner conviction and not the outcome of any kind of constraint.

Representatives of the Roman Catholic Church hold that if one of their members has been married by a Protestant minister he or she is not really married. It is sometimes specifically stated that such a person is living in sin however spotless his or her

life may be. Such an idea has no standing outside Roman Catholic circles. That some mixed marriages do succeed is a tribute to the power and beauty of love and to the good sportsmanship of the persons concerned, but even in these cases the marriages succeed because one side gives up more than anyone has a right to ask.

Co-operation and Mutual Respect

How much better it would be if, in those cases in which young people insist on marrying in spite of religious differences, both Churches would co-operate in helping them to see the best in each other and in their respective Churches and to create at the heart of family life a loving spirit of religious appreciation!

We wish to be in a relationship of spiritual unity with all God's people including those of Roman Catholic faith. We also want to work with them in safeguarding religious freedom. *We cannot, however, without emphatic protest, allow the teaching that a mixed marriage solemnized by another minister is no real Christian marriage.*

We urge that all Churches present this issue clearly to their people and constantly improve their provision for instruction in the foundation principles upon which sound Christian homes can be built and in the arts of adjustment which make family life beautiful and creative. Some Churches are providing in their educational programs helpful courses of instruction dealing with courtship, marriage, and family life, and supplementing these courses by counsel of tested value in helping young people to get a good start in marriage. It is not enough that a husband and wife should be of the same faith. They must live out that faith in their home life. With the help of God they should make their home a center of truth, love, and mutual understanding that through them the beauty and grace of Christian living may be manifest in the world.

About Books

Toward a Better World, edited by William Scarlett. The John C. Winston Company. \$2.00.

Written at the request of the Joint Commission on Social Reconstruction of the Protestant Episcopal Church, this book attempts to answer the most pressing question of 76,000,000 Churchgoing Americans today: How can Christian people, both as individuals and as Church members, collaborate in building a better world?

In this book are twelve chapters written by as many different authors, including Arthur Holly Compton, William E. Hocking, Reinhold Niebuhr, Sumner Welles, Frances Perkins, Eleanor Roosevelt, and several bishops of the Episcopal Church.

The volume deals with both domestic and world issues. Among the former are the minorities question, the Negro problem, the legacy of the Japanese-American evacuation, full employment, and a discussion of man and the State. International problems discussed include the United Nations, our relations with Russia, the treatment of ex-enemy nations, and the moral meaning of the atomic bomb.

An excellent summary by Dr. Stringfellow Barr concludes the book.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

The Idea of Christ in the Gospels, by George Santayana. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

"The idea of Christ is much older than Christianity. It is a prophetic idea; and even in the Gospels the affirmation that Jesus was the Christ remains an article of faith that only the fulfillment of a further prophecy would justify. Jesus could not possibly have been the Christ if he had not risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, and were not about to come again, amid clouds of glory, to judge the world and restore the kingdom of David." So

writes George Santayana in perhaps one of the most important books of his distinguished career as a philosopher-poet. He has given us a unique study of the personality of Jesus as found in the Gospel narratives and provided yet another approach to the traditional Christian dogma in respect to the mystery of the God-man.

To those familiar with his earlier works, especially with such portions of his autobiography as have been published, it will come as no surprise to find Mr. Santayana's characteristic spiritual sympathy evoking the idea of the Christ "presupposed in the Gospels and present, before and after the Gospels were written, to the Christian mind." This highly complex image and its attendant mystery of the God-in-man he considers from two complementary viewpoints: as an important figure in the history of religion and art, and as "a symbol for the high moral and ontological mysteries which it personifies."

In the Gospels he sees "the idea of Christ, pictorially and mystically, in the act of being transformed from that of a lost leader into that of an object of worship." The first eleven chapters develop this thesis, beginning with a stimulating appraisal of the arguments for the "inspiration" of the Holy Scriptures. Then follow chapters dealing with "The Character of the Several Gospels," "The Messiah," "The Son of God," "The Son of Man," "The Passion," "The Resurrection," *et al.* The author refuses to pass judgment on the validity of Gospel truth, historical or metaphysical; he is interested only in analyzing the dramatic presentation of the person of the Christ.

In the concluding portion of his essay entitled "Ultior Considerations," Mr. Santayana asks: "How far is this idea of Christ, as being God in man, a philosophical idea, valid for all men in all re-

ligions?" While the chapters that develop and answer this question under such headings as "The Concept of Creation," "The Fatherhood of God," "God's Love of Man and Man's Love of God," "The Animal Psyche and the Supernatural Soul," and "Self-transcendence," may challenge certain concepts of conservative theology, they offer small comfort to the humanistic schools. With his usual penetration the author demolishes the arguments of the creative evolutionists, attacks the basis of all humanistic criticism. In his conclusion he reminds his readers that "the idea of Christ crucified has had many worshipers, and has inspired many saints. But it has not converted the world or saved it. The world does not wish to be saved."

This is a good book, profoundly spiritual in its intent and execution, and one that accomplishes that rare feat of exalting scientific inquiry into the sphere of devotion and poetry.

HARRY WILLIAM PEDICORD

Of Guilt and Hope, by Martin Niemoeller. The Philosophical Library, Inc. \$2.00.

This collection of two sermons, a letter, and an interview by Martin Niemoeller are of real value. They steel the spine of anyone concerned with social education and action by the Christian Church. They are a long testimony to the guilt and misery destined for any Church which is not alive to such issues.

The book itself is poorly constructed in that there are no introductions written to the several items of the collection. Consequently one can know only approximately the time and place at which the sermons were preached or the interview granted. By internal evidence, they are patently products of the postwar years, 1945 and 1946; but it is unfortunate that one has to be a sort of "higher critic" in order to detect their setting.

Nevertheless, there are real values here:

slender as the volume is, its words were won out of bitter experience. Consequently the book has a power beyond that possible to any merely intellectual product developed apart from mankind's most horrible agony in World War II. Significant statements of the book have to do with the following:

1. *The necessity of protest, even at the cost of life, to iniquity in government and public affairs.* Niemoeller charges that if the Evangelical Churches had spoken out against the concrete sins in the various steps of the Nazi party program in 1933 or 1934, when the Nazi leadership might conceivably have been turned out of power, they could perhaps have averted the Second World War. Such witness, of course, could have been given at no light cost. Had the Churches done this, he says, "I imagine that 30 to 40 thousand Evangelical Christians would have been shortened by a head, but I can also imagine that we would have been saved 30 to 40 million lives, which is the price we now have to pay." While we are doubtless not developing Fascism in the United States, we Americans are prejudicing democracy at home and peace abroad by increasing the power of the military establishment to develop militaristic attitudes among us; by concentrating wealth; and by developing a new American imperialism. Against this present challenge in America the passage in this book out of which the foregoing quotation was taken (pp. 14-17) may well be a veritable means of grace to every reader in enabling him to take a responsible stand in these days of crisis.

2. *The importance of relief activity*, in view of the sacrifice for other sufferers by the Christian German people who themselves were bitterly suffering from deprivation.

3. *The need of speaking up for the elements of good in Germany* as the basis for a new and independent Germany in the future.

4. *The importance of participation of*

laymen in Church government as the one hope of the unity of Protestantism.

5. *The need for an adequate witness against war by the Christian Church.*

The book is a vital tonic to all of us who constantly find it only too easy to grow weary of the battle for social righteousness. It is thus a moving commentary on Joshua's words, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve."

JAMES GOLDEN MILLER

Action for Unity, by Goodwin Watson. Harper & Brothers. \$2.00.

Thorough students in the field of minority group problems will find in this book no more than a comprehensive summary of the action now under way to push back racial and religious barriers and a convenient listing of the most important agencies at work in this area. But for many others this brief, clearly outlined, interestingly documented work will paint a stimulating and provocative picture of "the battle against bigotry and bias," a battle which so many pastors and Church members are scarcely aware is in progress. No one who reads seriously and examines Church action in the light of the findings reported here can go untroubled on his customary way.

The book is the report of an explanatory inquiry sponsored by the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress. The Commission's purpose was "to get a picture of how good will was being put to work in the interest of better intergroup relations, to examine the basic assumptions and approaches being made in combating prejudice, to attempt a preliminary appraisal of the types of programs involved, and to derive guidance in the planning and projection of its own action-research." That the book is a planning survey should not be overlooked. It might rather be called a sampling, for the material in it is drawn from published reports of projects, interviews with executives of national agencies, and

visits to only a dozen cities. It is the result of a quick look around, merely to get the lay of the land preliminary to embarkation on a large-scale program of social action, and was not originally intended for publication.

After a fairly complete summary and classification of the most important agencies working on problems of inter-racial and interreligious tension, the author analyzes in seven categories the activities that make up the programs of these agencies. He calls these "Patterns of Action," namely, exhortation, education, participation, revelation, negotiation, contention, and prevention. Each is illustrated and evaluated as to advantages and disadvantages in meeting present problems. While Professor Watson does not say that he has ranked them in order of effectiveness, evidence presented makes it plain that in terms of actual accomplishment exhortation leaves the most to be desired; those measures termed preventive are most effective; and the rest fall between in somewhat the order given.

A word might be said about the pattern termed exhortation, for into this category could be grouped so much of the action that we as Church people undertake. "Exhortation to good will abounds," says Dr. Watson. The pulpit, civic officers, representatives of various racial or cultural minorities, educators, placards, billboards, an abundance of literature—all bespeak the evils of intolerance and the desirability of practicing the belief that all men are created free and equal. But later, in his evaluation of this pattern, he says, "Pledges and creeds often stop at mere exhortation." The ineffectiveness of preaching is shown by its lack of effect on conduct, by its reaching only those already converted, by evading points of conflict, and by its serving often as a substitute for other action.

The final chapter is a brief résumé of high points in the "suggested strategy for action toward unity among the various

faiths, races, and ethnic groups that make up American communities." Nowhere in the book is it more apparent that this is a preliminary piece of work. Nine suggestions are made for future steps and each is only briefly developed. Some of them, such as "new leadership" and "work where the need is greatest" are obvious to all. Others, such as "defend differences" and "militancy," will be honestly questioned by many readers. An important contribution is made in the suggestion entitled "attach segregation." "The form of action which seems to be most needed is that which is directed against the barriers now excluding some groups from equality of opportunity for employment, political action, health, education, housing, and recreation. These barriers are the public sanctions that symbolize and reinforce and create prejudice. Persuasive effort to alter prejudice is largely wasted so long as social institutions are accepted which incarnate those very prejudices. It was heartening to observe in our survey how often the breaking down of segregation led to the discovery of friendly qualities that overcame prejudice." What an opportunity for action here opens to the Churches, who have for so long been in the front rank of offenders in this respect.

J. W. BAUS

Cartels in Action, by George W. Stocking and Myron W. Watkins. The Twentieth Century Fund. \$4.00.

In the February, 1947, issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* there was a review of David Lynch's *The Concentration of Economic Power*, an important study of the vast areas of our economic life from which free competition has been virtually eliminated. *Cartels in Action*, though published independently, might be regarded as a companion volume. It is an account of the cartel agreements whereby producers in several countries eliminate competition from international trade. Like collusive

agreements within national boundaries, cartels serve on an international level to "free producers from the influence of market forces and to subject the market to deliberate, concerted control, by and for the producers."

The study is based upon extensive research conducted by a group of economists, under the auspices of The Twentieth Century Fund. The main body of the book consists of carefully documented case histories of international cartels in eight industrial fields: sugar, rubber, nitrogen, iron and steel, aluminum, electric lamps, and chemicals.

Some measure of the extent of cartel control is indicated in the estimate that in the United States, just prior to the war, approximately 87 per cent of the mineral products including oil, 60 per cent of the agricultural products, and 42 per cent of the manufactured products, came under some degree of cartel control.

It is difficult to calculate the cost of cartels to consumers across the world who have been forced to pay tribute in the form of artificially bolstered prices. The book also clearly points out that cartel agreements have jeopardized American security. It was in compliance with such agreements, for example, that aluminum production in the United States before the war was held to an absurdly low level, in order to preserve high prices, while production in Germany was steadily increased until it surpassed our output.

The Twentieth Century Fund announces that this book will be followed shortly by a second volume which "will describe and appraise the methods and economic effects of cartels in every field . . . with conclusions and recommendations for action."

A third and final volume in the series will be a study of monopoly in the United States. The two problems are closely allied because effective cartel agreements are possible only when the producers have achieved near-monopoly control within their respective countries.—N.E.K.

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